

THE NATIONAL CHURCHES

AMERICA

LEIGHTON COLEMAN

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THE
CHURCH IN AMERICA

BY

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P R E F A C E

THIS volume belongs to a series intended to give a comprehensive history of National Churches. In sending forth that portion which treats of the American Church, it may be difficult to convince some of my readers of the propriety of calling the Protestant Episcopal Church the National Church of America.

Strictly speaking, there has not been for many years any religious body in the United States which could, either from recognition by law and custom or from numerical predominance, claim to be the National Church.

But when it is remembered that in the beginning, what is popularly known as the Episcopal Church was by charter and law established in the older colonies; that more than any other ecclesiastical organisation she had to do with constituting the nation, and, in the period of the Civil War, with its maintenance and reunion; and that, while conservative and Catholic in her character, she yet is distinctively American in spirit—there would seem to be ample justification for thus using the title American Church. A still further warrant for this use may be found in the present position and prospects of this Church, as described in the concluding chapter.

I trust that in my own employment of this title, I may not be thought to have overlooked the Dominion of Canada, which is so integral and important a part of America. The term America in the present volume is applied as it is generally understood in England.

During the many months in which, amid divers other engagements, I have been occupied upon the work, valuable aid has been received from numerous kind friends, to all of whom I gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness.

I especially thank those who have been good enough to examine certain parts of the manuscript relating to themselves. In this manner there has been ensured, for at least some portions of the History, that accuracy with which I have honestly endeavoured to write the whole of it.

LEIGHTON COLEMAN.

BISHOPSTEAD, WILMINGTON, DELAWARE,
February 18, 1895.

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HISTORY OF THE CHURCH IN AMERICA

CHAPTER I

AMERICA COLONISED FOR CHRISTIANITY AND THE CHURCH

The religious design of the early charters—Martin Frobisher's expedition—Sir Francis Drake's, and the first Church service in the United States—The first charters and the colonisation of Virginia—Sir Walter Raleigh and Lord De la Warr—The first baptisms—First Church services in New England—Jamestown and the Rev. Robert Hunt—Captain John Smith and Pocahontas—The Popham colony—Nicholas Ferrar and George Herbert—"Lawes, divine, morall and martiall"—Alexander Whitaker—The Church prior to the Puritans—The early bias Anglican rather than Roman.

THE love of adventure, joined to the expectation of gain and fame, had no little influence with some who engaged in the early expeditions from Europe to America. There was in others who took part in them a sincere desire for the spiritual welfare of their fellows.

These were literally heathen, sitting in gross darkness. Stories of their ignorance and superstition reached the ears of the Christian court of England, and it is gratifying to observe how prominently and earnestly their conversion was laid as a duty upon those to whom the various royal charters were issued.

It is no wonder, therefore, that, in making up the complement of a fleet, the chaplain was considered as no less necessary than the admiral.

An interesting and important fact bearing directly upon this point has been brought out the more distinctly by recent researches among the Spanish archives, especially the Simancas papers,¹ viz., that much of the energy and perseverance which characterised these early attempts to colonise North America arose from the desire of the English court—and, one may say, the English Church—to circumvent similar designs formed by the Spanish court—and, one again may say, by the Roman Church.

Perhaps it is needless to add that Great Britain sturdily ignored all such claims to these parts as were based upon the bull of Pope Alexander VI., which granted to the United Kingdom of Castile and Aragon the proprietorship of the Western Hemisphere.

In Martin Frobisher's expedition, which sailed from Harwich, May 31, 1578, there was a godly and learned clergyman, "one Maister Wolfall," who, out of missionary zeal, devoted himself to the work of an evangelist, and was, it is believed, the first minister of the English Church who laboured in North America. We have a record of his having celebrated the Holy Communion on the shores of Hudson's Bay.

Sir Francis Drake carried with him as his chaplain the Rev. Francis (or Martin) Fletcher. Upon his discovering, on or about S. John Baptist's Day, 1579, the coast of Oregon, which at present forms a part of

¹ See "The Genesis of the United States," by Alexander Brown.

the State of California, religious services were held on land for the space of six weeks. The place of his landing is in dispute, it being either in what has since been named San Francisco Bay, or in what is now known as Drake's Bay.¹ In either case, Mr. Fletcher would appear to have been the first clergyman who used the Book of Common Prayer in the territory now embraced within the United States. A large company of Indians (or red men) gathered from various parts of the country to see the new-comers. After an address by their chief, and an offering of presents to the strangers, the Indian women tore their cheeks with their nails and threw themselves on the ground at the feet of the invaders. The response made to all this by Drake was most significant. He called his company to prayer, in which God was besought "to open their blinded eyes to the knowledge of Him and of Jesus Christ, the salvation of the Gentiles." Psalms were also sung, and several chapters of the Holy Bible were read. Throughout all these devotions, the Indians were very attentive and seemed to be deeply affected.²

¹ "Narrative and Critical History of America," by Justin Winsor, vol. iii. p. 70. In this work will be found an elaborate argument to prove that the anchorage of Sir Francis Drake was in San Francisco Bay.

² On July 26, 1892, the Assistant-Bishop of California (the Right Rev. W. F. Nichols, D.D.), after a brief religious service, placed a cross upon the spot where it is believed by some that Mr. Fletcher first officiated, under the eastern promontory of Point Reyes Head in Drake's Bay. For an extended argument in behalf of this claim, see Prof. George Davidson's paper on the subject, published in 1890, by the California Historical Society. The cross was presented by the late Mr. George W. Childs, of Philadelphia, who for many years was a liberal benefactor of the Church. Some of his gifts are to be found in Westminster Abbey, in S. Margaret's, Westminster, and elsewhere in England.

The first charter for an English colony was granted to Sir Humphrey Gilbert in 1583. It contained an express provision to the effect that the laws of the new settlement should "not be against the true Christian faith or religion now professed in the Church of England." The "advertisement" by which this enterprise was commended to the public mentioned, as one of its chief objects, "the carriage of God's Word into these mighty and vast countries." The honour of God and compassion for poor infidels were also specified among the objects, "it seeming probable that God hath reserved these Gentiles to be reduced into Christian civility by the English nation." Of the three laws which Sir Humphrey promulgated on taking possession of S. John's Harbour, Newfoundland, the first enjoined that the colony's religion should be "in publique exercise according to the Church of England."

Like provision was made in the patent granted, in 1584, to Sir Walter Raleigh. Thomas Hariot (or Harriot), who was the mathematician of the expedition (which, however, Sir Walter did not himself accompany), seems to have been a diligent preacher of the Word. The natives are said to have listened eagerly and reverently. This was in Virginia, so named after the virgin Queen Elizabeth. In 1589 Raleigh assigned his patent to a company of merchants, giving at the same time £100 "in especial regard and zeal of planting the Christian religion in those barbarous countries." This donation is particularly noteworthy, as being, perhaps, the first direct pecuniary contribution for missionary work in America.

In 1603 an expedition was fitted out by Bristol merchants, who were largely moved to do so by the missionary zeal of Richard Hakluyt, Prebendary of the Cathedral in that city.

Rosier, the chronicler of Waymouth's voyage in 1605—some authorities give 1602 as the date—in alluding to the urgency of the natives that he and his companions should go farther into the interior, says, "We would not hazard so hopefull a businesse as this was, either for our private or particular ends, being more regardfull of a publicke good, and promulgating God's holy Church by planting Christianity, which was the interest of our adventurers as well as ours."

The charter granted in 1606 by James I. to Virginia colonists, expressly stipulated that "the true Word and service of God be preached, planted, and used according to the rites and doctrines of the Church of England; not only in the said colonies, but also, as much as might be, amongst the savages bordering upon them;" and that "all persons should kindly treat the savage and heathen people in those parts, and use all proper means to draw them to the true service and knowledge of God."

An equally religious tone runs through the subsequent charters given to other colonies by Charles I., Charles II., and William and Mary. In the charter issued by the last-named rulers to the inhabitants of Massachusetts, liberty of conscience was assured to all colonists except Papists, and the royal will was clearly expressed to the effect that "the inhabitants of said province should be religiously, peaceably

governed, protected, and defended, so as their good life and orderly conversation may win the Indians, natives of the country, to the knowledge and obedience of the only true God and Saviour of mankind, and the Christian faith."

After his appointment as Governor or Captain-General of Virginia, Thomas, Lord De la Warr (from whom one of the original colonies in America was named Delaware), accompanied by the Council and adventurers, attended, in 1609-10, Divine service in the Temple Church, London. The preacher of the Temple was William Crashaw (father of the poet), and his sermon upon this occasion was full of the missionary spirit. He set before his hearers the duty and honour of founding the colony upon religious principles, and of having as the foremost object of the expedition the propagation of the Gospel. Addressing its leader, he said, "Remember thou art a general of Christian men, therefore principally look to religion." This advice was faithfully followed by the nobleman addressed, who, throughout his career, showed much interest in everything belonging to the spiritual welfare of the colonists.

In a similar strain, and about the same time, the Rev. Dr. Symonds, preacher at S. Saviour's, Southwark, had addressed the same company. "The destruction of the deuel's kingdom" and "the planting of a church" were the burden of his discourse.

Enough testimony, perhaps, has been adduced to show how largely the religious element entered into the original schemes for the colonisation of the United

States. There will be opportunities later on of showing how this same element formed a part of subsequent schemes.

We have already noted the first religious services held by the clergy of the Church of England in America. They, however, were not in connection with permanent colonies. So far as these are concerned, the first ecclesiastical act on record was performed, August 13, 1587, on the island of Roanoke, in what is now known as North Carolina, then a part of Raleigh's colony. It was here that Mantoe (or Manteo), an Indian chieftain, much esteemed because of his fidelity and kindness to the new settlers, was baptized. He may be accounted the first Indian convert to the Church. Seven days later, Virginia, the daughter of Ananias and Eleanor Dare, and granddaughter of John White, the Governor, received the same sacrament, being, as it is recorded, "the first Christian borne in Virginia."

In 1602 and 1603, Gosnold and Pring commanded expeditions which landed on what is now termed the New England coast. These contained a number of devout men, among whom was William (or Robert) Salterne. Inasmuch as he was ordained shortly after his return to England, there seems to be good ground for supposing that he officiated as lay reader, and thus may have been the first to use the Book of Common Prayer in those parts.

It was in 1605 that Weymouth or (Weymouth) made his voyage to New England in the *Archangel*. Some contend that the river explored by him on his

arrival was the *S. George's*. Others, with perhaps greater reason, say that it was the *Kennebec*. In either case, we know that, in the cabin of his vessel, Divine service was held habitually, most probably by himself. The savages who attended this worship were much impressed. Some of them were taken to England, where they were educated in the doctrines of Christianity. These returned in 1607 to America with the Popham colony,¹ and it cannot be doubted that they became missionaries among their fellow red men. The historian of this voyage declares "a public good, and the zeal of promulgating God's holy Church by planting Christianity, to be the sole intent of the honourable setter-forth of this discovery." The "setter-forth" was the Earl of Arundel, a loyal Churchman.

The next evidence we have of public Church services is furnished in the records of the company which landed at Jamestown, Virginia, May 13, 1607.² Their chaplain was the Rev. Robert Hunt, M.A., some time Vicar of Reculver, in Kent. This living he resigned in 1602, interesting himself more directly in plans for colonising Virginia. He was chosen by the first President of the colony, Edward-Maria Wingfield, and by Dr. Bancroft, the Archbishop of Canterbury, as the chaplain of the emigrants. Immediately upon their arrival, arrangements were made for Divine service. An old sail served for an awning, rails of

¹ See p. 11.

² On April 29, 1607, a cross was planted at Cape Henry, so named in honour of the Prince of Wales.

wood for walls, unhewed trees for seats, and a bar of wood nailed to two trees for a pulpit. An equally rustic altar was erected, and here the Holy Communion was celebrated for the first time, on the third Sunday after Trinity, June 21, 1607.

Before long, a simple church-building was put up, and daily Morning and Evening Prayer were read there until the death of Mr. Hunt.¹ The Holy Communion was administered once at least in every three months.² The first recorded marriage was by him in 1608. It was then that the first white woman was seen in the colony, and she was wedded almost immediately after her arrival. After the chaplain's death, the daily offices (with reading of homilies on Sundays) were continued regularly until the arrival of other clergymen.

All accounts agree in regard to the ability and worthiness of Mr. Hunt, who never left Virginia after his arrival. By his unflagging zeal and constancy, as well as by his consistency of life, he won and retained the respect and the affection of the entire population. Indeed, it is difficult to estimate the wide and permeating influence exerted by this faithful missionary in forming for good the character of the infant colony.

To this same period belongs Captain John Smith,

¹ The worthy sexton of this building, among other ways of showing his reverent appreciation of its character, was in the habit of decorating it with the choicest flowers he could obtain.

² It is said that when the store of liquors belonging to these early settlers was reduced to two gallons each of "sack" and aqua-vitæ, the first was reserved for use at the Holy Communion.

who, because of his various qualifications, eventually became the President of the Council, and whose life was saved by the intervention of Pocahontas.¹ It is related of him that, in his many voyages along the waters of Virginia and Maryland, he was in the habit of having daily public prayers. The Hon. George Bancroft says of him, "He was the father of Virginia, the true leader who first planted the Saxon race within the borders of the United States."²

About the same time that Mr. Hunt began his ministrations in Virginia, another priest of the Church of England was officiating in New England. This was Mr. Richard Seymour, thought by good authorities to have been the great-grandson of the Duke of Somerset. He had come with the *Mary and John*, whose captain was Raleigh Gilbert, and the *City of God*, commanded by Captain Popham.³ With Sir John Popham, Sir Ferdinando Gorges was associated in obtaining the charter under which this colony set sail. He was a firm and aggressive Churchman, who seems to have desired by all lawful means to establish

¹ In recent times, the romantic story of Smith's deliverance by Pocahontas has been declared mythical. On the other hand, some careful critics still maintain a belief in its authenticity.

² "History of the United States," vol. i. p. 138.

³ The first Christian teacher in Maine would appear to have been L'Escarbot, a Roman Catholic lawyer, who instructed his French companions on an island in the S. Croix as early as 1604; but unquestionably Seymour was the first clergyman to preach the Gospel in the English tongue (see "Memoir of Bishop Burgess," pp. 241 *sqq.*). We have already seen how it is likely that lay services were held there earlier (see p. 7). Cartwright's expedition reached Booth's Bay on Whitsunday, 1605.

the Church of England in the New World. It was, some say, on Sunday, August 9, 1607 (others say in May of that year), that the company landed on the island of Monhegan, subsequently known as S. George's Island, near the peninsula of Sabino in Maine. By the side of a cross, which, no doubt, had been previously erected by some of the converted Indians,¹ Mr. Seymour and his company worshipped God in the familiar words of the Book of Common Prayer. He is the first Christian priest known to have ministered in New England. There is, therefore, no room for the contention that colonisation in those parts arose among Nonconformists, whose planting was not until 1620. On the 19th of August 1607, these voyagers again went on shore at the mouth of the Sagadahoc (now the Kennebec) and engaged in public worship, the occasion being the beginning of the fort which was built there, and named S. George. After a sermon by Mr. Seymour, the commission of the President (George Popham) was read aloud. Then were promulgated "the laws to be observed," in which it was especially enjoined that "the true Word and service of God and Christian faith be preached, planted, and used," among both colonists and savages. In the course of a few months, the President addressed a letter to the King, in which he expressed his belief that "in these regions the glory of God may be easily evidenced." Before the end of the year, a church building was erected, which is claimed by some as the first within the colonies.

¹ The fruit, doubtless, of Waymouth's expedition (see p. 8).

The one at Jamestown, Virginia, cannot have been much, if any, younger.

A new charter for Virginia colonists was granted in 1609, and the "body politick" thus created numbered some of England's most distinguished clergymen, noblemen, and merchants of the day. Among them was the devout Nicholas Ferrar, who, after he had taken orders, was very much inclined to go as a missionary to the aborigines of America.¹ In his will he left £300 for the evangelisation of Indians in connection with the proposed University of Henrico.² It was he who was intrusted with the saintly George Herbert's last manuscripts, in which these lines occurred:—

"Religion stands on tiptoe in our land,
Ready to pass to the American strand."

The Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge strenuously objected to these lines being published, and, when Ferrar finally overcame his scruples, remarked that he hoped that Mr. Herbert might not be accounted an inspired poet!

Owing to delays of various kinds, it was not until May 23, 1610, that the first part of the newly formed company landed in Virginia. A disheartening welcome awaited them. The rude yet hallowed church was in ruins, and but few worshippers were left. The church was soon partially repaired, and the Rev.

¹ The elder brother, John, of this worthy man was King's Counsel for the plantations of Virginia, and frequent meetings of the Council were held in their father's house.

² See p. 18.

Richard Bucke, an Oxford man, offered there the familiar prayers and praises of their fatherland.

It was not long, however, before the whole enterprise was about to be abandoned. Its promoters were indeed on the eve of sailing for Newfoundland, and thence home, when Lord De la Warr and his squadron arrived. His first act, on gaining the shore, was to kneel down and engage in private devotions. His arrival reanimated the almost hopeless colony. The church was at once fully repaired and beautified, and the daily worship resumed.

The use of the following form of daily prayer was enjoined upon the colonists shortly after Lord De la Warr's arrival:—

“And seeing Thou hast honoured vs to choose vs out to beare Thy name unto the Gentiles ; we therefore beseech Thee to bless vs, and this our plantation which we and our nation haue begun in Thy fear and for Thy glory. . . . And seeing, Lord, the highest end of our plantation here is to set vp the standard and display the banner of Jesus Christ, euen here where Satan's throne is, Lord let our labour be blessed in laboring the conversion of the heathen. And because Thou vsest not to work such mighty works by vnholly means, Lord sanctifie our spirits, and giue vs holy harts, that so we may be Thy instruments in this most glorious work. . . . And seeing by Thy motion and work in our harts, we have left our warme nests at home, and put our liues into our hands, principally to honour Thy name and aduance the Kingdome of Thy Son, Lord giue vs

leave to commit our liues into Thy hands ; let Thy angels be about vs, and let vs be as Angels of God sent to this people. . . . Lord blesse England our sweete natiue country, save it from Popery, this land from heathenisme, and both from Atheisme. And Lord hear their praiers for vs and vs for them, and Christ Jesus our glorious Mediator for vs all. Amen."

Many disorders needed to be rectified, and in doing so it was thought best to enact some very stringent regulations. In 1611, chiefly under the influence of Sir Thomas Smith, a series of "Lawes, divine, morall and martiall" were promulgated. Impious or malicious speaking against the Trinity, or against the known articles of the Christian faith, was punishable by death. For the first offence in blasphemy or unlawful oaths, a severe punishment was ordained ; a bodkin was thrust through the tongue for the second ; for the third, death was to ensue. Death was the penalty also for any word or act in derision or despite of the Holy Bible. Unworthy demeanour towards the clergy entailed a whipping on the offender. Every one was obliged, after due preparation at home, to attend the daily services in the church. Failure to do so was subjected to three grades of punishment—loss of a day's wages, whipping, six months in the galleys. As the third penalty for absence from church, death was sometimes threatened.

All persons were compelled to give an account of their faith and religion, and, if in want of instruction, to repair to the clergyman. Neglect to go to him for this purpose was to be punished by whipping—one

whipping for the first offence, two whippings for the second, and, if persisted in, a whipping every day until the law in this respect was fulfilled.

These ordinances do not seem to have been enforced to any extent, but no doubt their deterrent influence contributed to the good morals of a community which, without some such regulations, might have become much more difficult to control.

Among the clergymen who came out at the earnest request of the Council, were two well-known Cambridge men, Alexander Whitaker—son of the famous Master of S. John's College—and Mr. Glover, from Bedfordshire. They had comfortable livings at home, and were much respected by their parishioners; but, moved by a fervent desire for the conversion of the heathen, they cheerfully turned their backs upon ease and emolument, and deaf ears to the remonstrances of their friends.

Whitaker's first field comprised Bermuda Hundred and Henrico City. Such was his devotion that he earned the name of "the Apostle of Virginia." At intervals, he sent home most earnest and cogent appeals for fresh recruits and for additional pecuniary means. It was he who instructed, and baptized by the name of Rebecca, the Indian princess Pocahontas (daughter of Powhatan, the most powerful chieftain of those parts), of whom so much that is romantic has been written.¹

¹ See p. 10. She was soon married to an English widower, John Rolfe, who took great pride in the many and marked attentions paid her on the occasion of her visit to England in 1616. Bishop King of London was one of those who entertained her. A better understanding between the two races was one of the results of this alliance. She died at the early age of twenty-two, leaving one son, Thomas, from whom some families in Virginia of high social rank trace their descent.

The church at Jamestown was the scene of the first recorded meeting of a body of legislators (known as the House of Burgesses) duly elected for the promotion of civil and religious education. It was held, July 30, 1619, under the presidency of Sir George Yeardley, and was attended by two members from each of the eleven boroughs then existing. Measures were adopted looking to the better maintenance of ministers and of public services, the protection and evangelising of the Indians, the repression of vice and immorality, and the erection of an university or college.

Many of the facts already related are all the more noteworthy, inasmuch as they prove that the Church, in her provision for the spiritual welfare of the people, was considerably in advance of the Puritans, for whom the honour of originally making such provision is frequently claimed. The foundations of both Church and State were laid, even in New England, before the Leyden Pilgrims had set sail.

And even among the early Puritans, there were many who distinctly refused to be known as separatists from the Church. In this category we may place Arthur Lake, Bishop of Bath and Wells (1616), who was so greatly interested in the colonisation scheme as bearing upon the evangelisation of America, that he declared that he would himself go thither, except for his age. It was a clergyman of the Church, the Rev. John White (a friend of Lake), who, in 1625, joined Roger Conant in planting a settlement at Salem on Massachusetts Bay.

Before passing from a consideration of the events in

connection with the early settlements of North America, it may be interesting to observe that the chief and almost only planting of nations through emigration of which we have any reliable accounts has been during the last three centuries, and such emigration has been exclusively from Christian lands.

It may also be interesting to surmise what the character of North America would have been, had Columbus, resisting the counsel of Pinzon, sailed westward, according to his own original plan. In all probability, he would have landed on the coasts of what is now known as the United States, and that country would have received its religious bias from a Roman Catholic population. It would seem to many to have been a merciful intervention of Providence that its character should have been determined by the adherents of the Anglican Church. This is all the more evident when we reflect upon the fact that, although the United States were colonised a century later than Spanish America, and had then a less fertile territory, covered with dense forests, and with no known gold and silver deposits, they have yet far outstripped that portion of the continent in every element of greatness and prosperity.

The same providential arrangement may be traced at a much later period of American history, when, in 1803, Louisiana was purchased from France, and in 1819 Florida was ceded by Spain; both of these European countries being at that time largely under the influence of the Roman Church.

CHAPTER II

CHURCH-PLANTING IN THE OLDER COLONIES

Royal interest in the new colonies—Put under the charge of the Bishop of London—Church beginnings in Massachusetts—William Blaxton—Opposition of the Puritans—Early services in Maryland—In Maine—In Delaware—Interest of the Swedes—The Old Swedes' Church in Wilmington—S. Luke's Church, Smithfield—First services in South Carolina—John Locke—S. Philip's, Charleston—Origin of the Church in New York—Governor Fletcher—Taxes for Church purposes—Trinity Church, New York—The Rev. William Vesey—Colonel Heathcote—Early Churchmen in Connecticut—Conforming to the Church of Drs. Cutler and Johnson—Rise of the Church in Pennsylvania—Christ Church, Philadelphia—The Rev. George Keith—The Church in New Jersey—The Rev. Thoroughgood Moore—The Rev. Dr. Chandler.

THE interest manifested by England in the evangelisation of America, of which the foregoing chapter gives so many proofs, continued to be felt during the succeeding years. Early in the seventeenth century, the King (James I.) issued a "brief," authorising and requiring four collections to be made, within two years of its promulgation, in aid of the missionary work in Virginia.¹ This is said to have been the first document of its kind ever put forth in England. The sum of £1500 was raised by this means. Other

¹ The establishment of a college would seem to have been determined upon as the chief means towards this end, and Henrico was selected as its site.

donations followed, and not a few bequests were made, most of them being for the conversion of the heathen.

Sir Edmund Plowden, who had a grant, from Charles I., of the land which is now comprised within the States of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland, assigned 10,000 acres to Sir Thomas Danby, in 1634, on the condition that he should settle 100 planters on this tract, stipulating further that they should be men who believed or professed "the three Christian Creeds commonly called the Apostolical, Athanasian, and Nicene."

Dr. King was at this time Bishop of London, and showed much anxiety for the welfare of the work, to which he made the generous donation of £1000. His zeal in its behalf seemed to point him out as the prelate to whom the spiritual oversight of this colony should be committed. Subsequently, the jurisdiction over other colonies was assigned him. At the instance of Bishop Compton, in 1703, it was confirmed by an "Order in Council" to the occupants of this See. The arrangement was continued without interruption until after the War of the Revolution. As late as 1804, one clergyman (the Rev. Uzal Ogden, D.D.,¹ rector of Trinity Church, Newark, New Jersey), in withdrawing from the Protestant Episcopal Church, claimed a right to continue officiating, by reason of his license from the late Bishop of London. This claim, however, was not recognised by the Convention of the Diocese, which proceeded to suspend

¹ See p. 195.

him from the further exercise of any ministerial duties.

As showing that the same religious spirit which animated the early charters and instructions was maintained in the later ones, the following may be quoted from the "Instructions to Sir William Berkeley, one of the Gentlemen of our Privy Chamber, Governor of Virginia, and to the Council of State there," in the year 1650:—

"Article 1st.—That in the first place you be careful Almighty God may be duly and daily served, according to the form of Religion established in the Church of England, both by yourself and all the people under your charge, which may draw down a Blessing upon all your Endeavours. And let every congregation that hath an able minister, build for him a convenient Parsonage House; to which for his better maintenance over and above the usual Pension, to lay two hundred acres of Glebe Land; for the clearing of that Ground every one of his Parishioners, for three years, shall give some days' labour, of themselves and of their servants: and see that you have a special care that the Glebe Land be set as near his Parsonage House as may be, and that it be of the best conditioned Land; suffer no Invasion in matters of Religion, and be careful to appoint sufficient and conformable ministers to each Congregation, that may catechise and instruct them in the Ground and principles of Religion."

Of like tenor were the "Instructions for our right Trusty and Well-beloved Thomas Lord Culpeper, our Lieutenant and Governor-General of our Colony and

Dominion of Virginia in America, September 6th, 1679:”—

“And that God Almighty may be more inclined to bestow His Blessing upon us, and you in the improvement of that our colony, you shall take especial care that He be duly and devotedly served in all the Government; the Book of Common Prayer, as it is now established, read each Sunday and Holiday, and the Blessed Sacrament administered according to the Rights (*sic*) of the Church of England. You shall be careful that the churches already Built there shall be well and orderly kept, and more built as the colony shall by God’s Blessing be improved, and that besides a competent maintenance to be assigned to the minister of each church, a convenient House to be built, at the common charge, for each minister, and one hundred of acres of Land assigned him for a Glebe and exercise of his industry.

“And our Will and Pleasure is that no minister be preferred by you to any Ecclesiastical Benefice, in that our Colony, without a Certificate from the Lord Bishop of London, of his being conformable to the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England; and also our pleasure is, that in the Direction of Church affairs, the ministers be admitted into the respective vestries.”

There was no part of the country where Churchmen did not settle. In the year 1623, a colony was formed at Weymouth, Massachusetts, and in the company was a clergyman, the Rev. William Morrell, who was an authorised Ecclesiastical Commissioner. As early as 1621, the majority of the inhabitants of

Plymouth were distinctly attached to the Church, although most of the leading people were Puritans. We have mention of a sturdy Churchman, Thomas Morton, of "Merry Mount," who settled upon a plantation which subsequently became the site of Quincy. He came from England with something of an establishment, before whom he conducted daily worship in accordance with the forms of the Church of England, notwithstanding the warnings of the Puritans, who opposed even his public reading of the Bible. While it is quite likely that his conduct at times was not wholly becoming, yet his opinion of his Dissenting neighbours may be taken as none the less indicative of what others had experienced. In a familiar letter to an English correspondent, he wrote, "I found in these parts two sorts of people, Christians and heathens, and these last more friendly and full of humanity." He was persecuted violently, all the more because of the satires contained in his "New English Canaan." He died in England from the effects of his imprisonment at Boston.

In the year 1623, William Blaxton (spelt also Blackestone), by reason of having occupied a little cottage on the site of what is now Boston, laid claim to its possession. To some extent his claim was acknowledged. He was a Cambridge M.A., and is sometimes described as "a clerk in Holy Orders," although there is no trace of any ecclesiastical acts on his part, nor at this period of any other clergyman in any part of Massachusetts. Mather speaks of him as "one of the godly Episcopalians."

A number of Churchmen made their homes in the

neighbourhood already described. Naturally enough, they soon began to discuss the expediency of having the Prayer-Book services. Their attempt to introduce them aroused the suspicions of the Puritans, and these latter made overtures to them, looking to an abandonment of their discipline and worship. Blaxton was ready enough with his answer to their proposals. "I came," said he, "from England, because I did not like the *lord-bishops*, but I cannot join with you, because I would not be under the *lord-brethren*."¹

Among those who emigrated to Salem, in 1629, with the Rev. Francis Higginson, were two brothers, John and Samuel Brown. They were held in high esteem at home, but because they could not endure the slanders heaped upon the Church by the Puritans, and therefore worshipped with their Prayer-Books in their own house (where their neighbours also assembled for the purpose), they were denounced as "ringleaders of a faction," and ordered home by the ship *Lion's Whelp*. To this same period also belongs Samuel Maverick, who, for his support of "the lordly prelatical power," was subjected to a number of persecutions. He was a prominent member of society, being described by Drake as a man whom "Boston could not do without." He died in New York prior to May 1676.

¹ He finally removed to what is now Lonsdale, Rhode Island, and occasionally officiated in various parts. He appears to have been the first clergyman, as well as the first white inhabitant, in that State. It is said that he also held service at Providence. He was among the first to engage in raising fruit, and at times he rewarded his congregation for their attendance by distributing among them the choicest products of his garden and orchard. He died in 1673.

There seems to be but little doubt that a clergyman of the Church was among the early settlers in New Hampshire. As soon as 1638, the name of "John Michell, a minister," is found on the Register of the Privy Council. We know of a chapel and parsonage at Portsmouth, within two years of this date. It was in this same patent that, subsequent to the services of Richard Gibson, a parish was organised in the year 1640. This was probably the first organisation of the kind in what is now known as New England. S. John's, Portsmouth, may be said to represent the ancient church of Strawberry Bank.¹

Churchmen began very early to settle in Maryland, so called in honour of Queen Henrietta Maria, wife of Charles I. They came from Virginia, some time prior to 1634,² and made their homes on the Isle of Kent, opposite what is now known as the city of Annapolis. The Rev. Richard James (who had accompanied Sir George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore, before he became a Roman Catholic) was for a while their minister.³ Not long afterwards, a chapel was erected at S. Mary's, where lay services were held. These Church people suffered considerable in-

¹ See the Rev. Dr. Da Costa's "The Colonial Church," in his annotated edition of Bishop White's *Memoirs*, p. 23.

² This was the date of the coming to Maryland of colonists under the charter given to Sir George Calvert, while he was yet a Protestant; and three-fourths of those who at this time migrated thither were Protestants. The statement that the settlement at S. Mary's was made to escape persecution would seem to be entirely erroneous.

³ Mr. James had previously been librarian to Sir Robert Cotton, the famous antiquary.

dignity at the hands of the Roman Catholics, against whom they felt obliged to petition for redress. They styled themselves "Protestant Catholics." One complaint was that a prominent Roman Catholic had stolen the key of their chapel and removed their books. He was made to restore them, and pay a fine of 500 lbs. of tobacco, to be applied to the support of the first clergyman who should arrive. Before a great while, the proprietary government was overthrown, and Protestants, with religious toleration, were in the ascendancy.

There is mention made, about the year 1650, of the Rev. William Wilkinson, and of his faithful and diligent labours at S. George's, Mary County. He was the first clergyman who took up his residence in the province beside those who lived in Kent Island. The growth of the Church in these parts during this period was far from vigorous, as may be inferred from the fact that, so late as 1675, only three clergymen were in service there, one of whom was afterwards convicted of atheism and blasphemy. Another was the Rev. John Yeo, of Pautuxant River, who subsequently officiated for a season at Lewes,¹ Delaware, returning to Maryland, where he died in 1686. While he is accused of being a turbulent fellow, he seems to have been keenly alive to the spiritual necessities of his day. In 1676, he addressed a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Sheldon), calling his attention to many privations, chiefly

¹ This parish still has in use handsome and solid silver altar-vessels, presented, in 1773, by John Penn, the grandson of William Penn.

resulting from the want of ordained ministers, a due supply of whom he earnestly asked.

In what is now called Maine, we find the names of the Rev. Richard Gibson,¹ and the Rev. Robert Jordan, 1636-40. The various companies of immigrants arriving here in the early part of this century had large proportions of Churchmen. Their religious loyalty may be inferred from the fact that, in 1641, a Congregational minister (Thomas Jeaner) reported to Governor Winthrop that the people of Saco were "much addicted to Episcopacy." Such zeal on their part could hardly fail to attract the attention of the Puritans, who had already well-nigh crushed the Church out of New Hampshire. They attempted to do the same in Maine. Jordan was insulted, imprisoned, and cruelly treated, his offence consisting of baptizing children. He was subsequently summoned for having ventured to perform the marriage ceremony. He died in 1679, and there is from this date no record for some time of any public services in this part of New England, except those which were occasionally held at the garrison by a lay-reader, one John Gyles.

The Church history of Delaware may, for reasons given hereafter, be said to begin about 1638. It was then that the first Swedish colony, under Minuit, landed on the shores of the river (originally the Minniquas), which they named the Christiana, in honour of their queen. They came of a religious nation, and were in exact accord with the earlier settlers from England in purposing to bring the New World under

¹ See p. 24.

the influence of Christianity. It is estimated that the Swedish Government spent not less than \$100,000 in evangelising America. East of the site of the church and burial-ground now in use within the limits of the present city of Wilmington, they erected Fort Christina. Here they at once built a log-church.¹ A clergyman of the name of Riorus Torkillus accompanied Minuit, and officiated regularly until his death in 1643. In Governor Beekman's time, 1658-64, the commander at Fort Nassau, Andreas Hudde, served as clerk in the church at Christina, under Lars Lock, who was at that period the only Swedish clergyman in America.

Twelve years after the Dutch had conquered New Sweden, and three years after the English had entered into possession of the whole country, viz., in 1667, another church, situated at the Crane Hook (at the mouth of the Christiana), was erected by the Swedes (aided, doubtless, by the Dutch), to take the place of the former edifice. The site was selected partly with reference to the convenience of the people living in New Jersey and elsewhere upon the rivers, who now were able to come almost to the church doors in their boats.

For eleven years after the building of the church at Crane Hook, Lock was in charge of two congregations, the other being at Tinicum, near the mouth of the Schuylkill. At his death, in 1688, occasional services

¹ Possibly this building, and others erected for public worship at this period, were more like block-houses, so constructed that, in case of assault by the Indians, they could be used as forts.

were held at Christina by Jacob Fabritius, a Dutch clergyman from New York, who officiated principally at Wicaco, in Pennsylvania. On account of blindness, he was obliged to retire from work in 1691. From that time until the arrival of the Swedish missionaries Biorck, Rudiman, and Auren, in 1697, there were no regular services. Public worship, however, was continued at intervals, with the help of two worthy lay-readers. "Orderly people," it is said, "attended, but others did not, or came for amusement: some of the young men for horse-racing. The want of discipline occasioned many disorders."

The Swedish congregation showed much anxiety to secure a clergyman, and offered what they evidently considered the liberal salary of one hundred rix-dollars, with a house and glebe. Finally, as mentioned above, a pastor was sent to them in the year 1697. Of the three named, Eric Biorck,¹ of the province of Westmanland, was the one assigned, by agreement between them, to the Delaware church. He commenced his ministry on July 11th. The following record of the event is transcribed from his own journal:²—

"*July 11*, or the 6th of Trinity. I began in Jesus' name my first Divine service in Crane Hook Church, when I informed them how I purposed to conduct

¹ He was licensed by the Bishop of London to officiate in the Church of England congregations, and was highly commended for his self-denying industry.

² From a volume by Dr. Horace Burr, of Wilmington, recently published under the auspices of the Historical Society of Delaware, containing a translation of the old records of Holy Trinity Church.

Divine Service, if circumstances are favourable thereto, viz., as follows :—

“1st. Begin with a morning Psalm, and then read from the pulpit a chapter in the Old Testament and one from the New Testament, beginning with the first in each.

“2nd. Read the Catechism, without the Lutheran explanations.

“3rd. Read the Athanasian Creed, ending with the Benediction and a suitable hymn.

“4th. Thereafter, if there is occasion, 1st, Confess, 2nd, Bury the dead, 3rd, Baptize children, 4th, Church women, &c.

“5th. Then begin High Mass, according to the order contained in the Directory; when *Lov Exordii* and the Gospel are read; then read one of our Christian instructions, with Lutheran explanations, and one or other thereof with simple comments.”

For some time the site of the church had been found very inconvenient, chiefly owing to a liability of the approaches to it being overflowed with water. Accordingly, a new church was erected in a more favourable locality. The corner-stone was laid, May 28, 1698, and the building was formally dedicated, with the name of the Holy Trinity, on Trinity Sunday in the following year. Rudiman preached the sermon, his text being Psalm cxxvi. 3, “*The Lord hath done great things for us; whereof we are glad.*” The collection amounted to two hundred dollars, which was a very liberal contribution for that day.

The history of these early Swedish services has

been given, because, in later years, when the Swedish language had ceased to be intelligible to the hearers, and there had come into the neighbourhood many members of the Church of England, the church last built, with most of the congregation worshipping there, came under the care of the newly formed Episcopal Church of America.¹ In the Second Convention of the Diocese of Delaware, held December 18, 1792, one of the attending clergymen was the Rev. Joseph Clarkson, rector of Trinity Church, Wilmington. From his report it may be inferred that he began his ministry there September 25, 1792.

Details of its history have been entered into, because the church building, begun in 1698, is to-day the second oldest sacred edifice in the whole country, and, so far as continuous use of such edifices is concerned, it is the first.² It is still in good condition, and the centre of an interesting and encouraging work.

¹ The conforming to the Episcopal Church of the Swedish congregations at Philadelphia, Wilmington, and elsewhere, was by successive steps. The possession of a liturgy, and the observance of Confirmation, were among the attractions which served to bring about the change. The right to the church property thus acquired has at times been discussed in the civil courts, but the claims of the Episcopal Church have been uniformly vindicated.

² The oldest is S. Luke's Church, Smithfield, Virginia, which was erected in the year 1632, and has been recently well restored. In its large chancel windows are memorials of some of the most interesting persons and events belonging to the early history of Virginia.

There is an adobe Roman Catholic Cathedral at Santa Fé, New Mexico, which is said to be older than either of these two churches.

The Old Swedes' Church (*Gloria Dei* is its name), Philadelphia, dates from the year 1700. The second church at Jamestown, built in 1640, has long been in ruins.

S. Paul's Church, Wickford, Rhode Island, erected in 1707, is supposed to be the oldest church now standing in New England.

The first services held in Delaware by a clergyman of the Church of England, of which we have any authentic account, were those of the Rev. John Yeo, from Maryland, of whom mention has already been made,¹ and who came to New Castle in December 1677. He was formally appointed as minister there by the court, after receiving the approbation of the Governor.²

The original colonists of South Carolina landed there in Holy Week, 1660, and it was for their benefit that the first services of the Church were held (by the Rev. Morgan Jones) in that part of America. Two years later, a charter was granted to certain noblemen by Charles II., who, it is said, intrusted its preparation to Locke, the celebrated philosopher. It is doubted, however (somewhat inconsistently), whether he entirely approved of the provision which called for the establishment and maintenance of the Church of England as setting forth "the only true and orthodox and the national religion of all the King's dominions."³ While the Constitution asserted the supremacy of the Church, it yet professed also to guarantee religious equality, with this proviso, that each person of seventeen years should enroll himself in one or another of the various religious denominations that might then be represented there.

The first church building (S. Philip's) was erected in Charleston about 1681 or 1682. It is described as

¹ See p. 25.

² See "History of Immanuel Church, New Castle," by Thomas Holcomb, Esq.

³ Locke is believed to have entertained at one time the idea of taking Holy Orders.

"large and stately," and was constructed of black cypress upon a brick foundation. The Rev. Atkin Williamson was its first rector, so far as is known from its records. When he became too old and infirm to discharge his duties, the Legislature granted him an annuity of £30. His successor, the Rev. Samuel Maxwell, seems to have been more than usually esteemed by the whole community. He was voted £150 per annum out of the public funds, from which also he was supplied with a negro man and woman, and with four cows and calves. The Rev. Samuel Thomas arrived in Charleston on Christmas Day, 1701. The Rev. Dr. Le Jau followed him in 1707, and afterwards came the Rev. Robert Maule. These all won general esteem for their simple-heartedness and fidelity. They showed much interest in the spiritual welfare of the negroes. In 1704 the General Assembly passed an "act for the establishment of religious worship in this province according to the Church of England, and for the erection of churches for the public worship of God, and also for the maintenance of ministers, and the building convenient houses for them." This act also contained a provision whereby lay commissioners could try and remove clergymen; but such strenuous objections were raised to it that it was repealed. Among the earlier clergymen was the Rev. Gideon Johnson, the commissary of the Bishop of London, who, although a great invalid, was most diligent in his labours among the whites, negroes, and Indians. He died in the year 1716. He was succeeded as commissary, first by the Rev.

William Tredwell Bull, and then by the Rev. Alexander Garden. In this capacity, Mr. Garden at first cordially received Mr. Whitefield, but afterwards, on account of irregularities in the conduct of public worship, suspended him. While his enforcement of the law may have served to alienate popular sympathy from the commissary, yet there can be no question as to the conscientious manner in which he performed what must have been to him an unwelcome duty.

The original settlers of New York were the Dutch, who introduced there their national religion. When the colony was subjugated by the English, under Colonel Nicolls, it was expressly stipulated that liberty of conscience should be enjoyed by all. In pursuance of this provision, the English used the Dutch church for their Prayer-Book service, which immediately followed the Dutch service. (1663 is the first year when the Church services appear on record.) No change was made in this respect when the Dutch recaptured the fort in 1673, nor when, in the next year, it fell once more into the hands of the English. The first clergyman of whom we have any mention is the Rev. Charles Wolley, who began to officiate as chaplain of the forces in the year 1678. He was a Cambridge graduate, and was appointed by the Duke of York to Fort James, as the English called it.

In 1692, the Governor, Colonel Fletcher, in demanding from the Assembly an act, as it was afterwards termed, "for settling the ministry and raising a maintenance for them," based his request upon the fact that *Magna Charta* provided for "the religion of the

Church of England." In this legislation the counties of Richmond, Westchester, and Queen's were associated with the city of New York. When the act was passed, the Governor refused for some time to sign it, because it did not recognise his power of presentation to ecclesiastical benefices. This power was vested in the Governor by the terms of his appointment by the Crown; but the Assembly, who wished to have Dissenters occupy these benefices, were disposed to ignore the Governor's rights in this respect.

In 1692, a charter, accompanied by a grant of land, was given to Trinity Church.¹ By the terms of the act, to which reference has already been made, an appropriation was allowed of £100 for the support of the rector (therein styled "the Minister of the city of New York"), and one of £60 to each of the country ministers. These sums, as others for the repairs of church-buildings, &c., were raised by general taxation.

This support of the Church out of the public funds is the more noteworthy, inasmuch as at this time there was a very considerable mixture of races and religions. From a report made by Governor Thomas Dongan in 1687, we learn that there were English Churchmen, Dutch Lutherans, Dutch Calvinists, French Calvinists, Quakers, Singing Quakers, Sabbatarians, Anti-Sabbatarians, Anabaptists, Jews, Independents, &c. It was, doubtless, because of this heterogeneity that King Charles, in some of his private instructions to the Commissioners, advised them to allow the clergy to

¹ The services at this time were held in the new Dutch Church in Garden Street, because Trinity Church was not yet ready for use.

dispense with the use of the surplice, so as to "reconcile persons of very different judgments and practices in all things." Much was done outside of Government aid. Through the gifts and influence of the Bishop of London, a Latin Free School was established, and the Governor founded two other schools in the city.

Until 1693, there would seem to have been "no face of the Church of England" in Westchester County, for although the Governor had already issued a stringent proclamation for the suppression of vice and the better observance of the Lord's Day, the Court of Sessions was compelled shortly afterwards to legislate anew upon the subject. The Rev. Mr. Muirson charged this condition of affairs largely to "the evil example and great neglect of our magistrates."

Later on, the inhabitants of this territory seem to have been more anxious as to their spiritual condition, and when the S.P.G., beginning with 1702, sent them missionaries, these were well received. They appear to have been unusually acceptable men.

In Rye, where the Congregationalists were first on the ground, no persons were allowed to "embody themselves in Church estate without the consent of the General Court," one object being to prevent Churchmen from getting a foothold there. At New Rochelle, the Rev. Daniel Bondet, a Huguenot refugee, who had received Holy Orders from the Bishop of London, officiated for a number of years at the immediate close of the seventeenth century.

The first parish organised in Long Island was that of Jamaica, which dates from the year 1702. The

Rev. Patrick Gordon came over, under the appointment of the S.P.G., with Keith, tarried a few weeks in Boston, and then went to Jamaica, where he died the day he was to have entered upon his work. Colonel Morris (Governor of New Jersey, and a fellow-passenger on the voyage) speaks of him, in a letter to Bishop Beveridge, as "a man of abilities, sobriety, and prudence."

Shortly after the charter was granted to Trinity Church, New York, Mr. William Vesey was chosen rector of the parish. This election was made by what was known as the *City* vestry. This was a heterogeneous body of men, elected under the provisions of the act of 1693, by the freeholders of the city, without distinction of religion. The *Church* vestry was elected afterwards, under the charter of 1697, by the members of the Church of England. These two vestries ran on, side by side, for a number of years, with occasional collisions.

Mr. Vesey was elected by the *City* vestry to be minister of the city of New York. Subsequently, the *Church* vestry secured for him, as their rector, the benefits ensuing under the act of 1693, the charter declaring that the rector of Trinity Church should be the person described in the act of 1693.

Governor Fletcher had a long contest with the Assembly and the *City* vestry before he succeeded in getting Mr. Vesey elected by the latter body. Originally it had a majority of Dissenters, and they, naturally enough, preferred to elect one of their own views.

It has been alleged that Mr. Vesey was a Dissenting minister, a special protégé of Increase Mather; that he was serving as such on Long Island when elected rector of Trinity Church, and conformed to the Church for the purpose of getting the place and support provided for in the act. This story is designated by the present rector of the parish, in a letter to the author, as "a pure falsehood from beginning to end; a gossiping tale, invented by his enemies and those of the Church of England, and first put into circulation about 1714, during the administration of Governor Hunter, between whom and Mr. Vesey there was a very sharp controversy."

The family of Mr. Vesey were not only strong Church people, but Jacobites, and as such detested by the New England Congregationalists. He served as lay-reader and preacher on Long Island, and afterwards assisted the Rev. Samuel Myles at King's Chapel, Boston. It was while serving in this capacity, and looking forward to ordination, that he was called to Trinity Church. He immediately set sail for England, where, in 1696, he was ordained by the Bishop of London.¹ It was on Christmas Eve, 1697, that he was elected rector by the Church vestry. He was inducted by the Governor on the following day, two of the Dutch clergy acting as the legal witnesses. All his successors, down to the time of the War of the Revolution, were inducted by the royal governors. The service of induction performed by them was

¹ See "History of Trinity Church, New York," by the Rev. Morgan Dix, D.D.

different from that performed by the wardens and vestrymen. This latter ceremony still continues to be observed in the parish, and in the case of the present rector was followed by his institution by the Bishop of New York, according to the form prescribed in the Prayer-Book.

On March 13, 1697, Trinity Church was opened, and at this time Mr. Vesey read himself in. He served the parish for almost half a century, also acting for a large part of that period as commissary for the Bishop of London. By his consistent conduct and diligent work, he gradually won and always retained the esteem of the whole community. He had the satisfaction of seeing a rapid increase in the membership of the Church, and a corresponding growth in its influence and usefulness. It is not too much to say that to his zeal and wisdom is largely due, under God, the impregnable position of prominence which the Church holds to-day in the metropolis of America.

One of the most active and influential laymen in the early history of this venerable parish was Colonel Caleb Heathcote, Mayor of New York from 1711 to 1714. He was also instrumental in founding a number of parishes in Westchester County. He displayed notable characteristics, and had the respect of all who knew him.

As to Connecticut, we find that the earliest proof of anything like a combination among Churchmen was in the year 1664. It was then that William Pitkin and six others, signing themselves "professors

of the Protestant Christian religion, members of the Church of England, and subjects of our sovereign Lord Charles the Second," memorialised the General Assembly for some redress of the hardships they were enduring for lack of a regularly ordained clergyman, and also asked that, by some wholesome law, "they might be relieved from paying for the support of ministers who neglected their spiritual needs." Their petition seems to have been well received, but nothing practical resulted from it. It is not until the beginning of the eighteenth century that we have any record of public services.¹ They were held by two clergymen, who became well known throughout the country, viz., the Rev. George Keith² and the Rev. John Talbot.³ This beginning was in New London, on the Fifteenth Sunday after Trinity, September 13, 1702. In 1706 the Rev. George Muirson, of Rye, New York, accompanied by Colonel Heathcote, who went fully armed, officiated at Stratford, where he baptized a large number of adults and children. His visit aroused the enemies of the Church, who threatened him with personal violence, and charged him with transgressing the Colonial law in holding his services. Many persons on their way to attend them were insulted and intimidated, one of the members of the Council threatening each one of them with a fine of £5 if they persisted in going to church. However, they were not much discouraged, but kept on preparing

¹ In all probability, the prime mover in obtaining these services was Colonel Caleb Heathcote, whose pious efforts in the same cause elsewhere have already been noted (p. 38).

² See pp. 43, 44.

³ See pp. 106 *et seq.*

for a permanent organisation, which was effected in April 1707. In 1724 the church was completed and dedicated.

It was just two years before this event (in the autumn of 1722) that the whole colony was greatly stirred by the public recantation of Presbyterianism and the reception into the Episcopal Church of seven prominent ministers. Among them were Timothy Cutler, President of Yale College, and two of its tutors, Samuel Johnson and Daniel Brown. Their conversion was largely owing to their study of the Prayer-Book, and of some works of standard Anglican divines belonging to the college library, from which they were persuaded of the Divine right of Episcopacy.¹ They were promptly dismissed from their posts, and hotly abused by their former companions. They were called "cudweds," "degenerate offspring," "highflyers," &c. This sort of persecution appears to have been too much for three of the seven, as they before long returned to their former faith. Cutler, Johnson, and Brown sailed almost immediately for England, and were ordained by the Bishop of Norwich in the spring of 1723. The former (upon whom both Oxford and Cambridge Universities conferred the degree of D.D.) returned to America, under the auspices of the S.P.G., and became rector of Christ Church, Boston. He remained in this parish until his death, rarely engaging in controversy, but actively employed in the general

¹ In the document presented to the trustees of the college, these members of the Faculty declared that "they laboured under difficulties in keeping out of the visible communion of the Episcopal Church."

work of the ministry. Johnson (who was an intimate friend and correspondent of Berkeley), on his return, was sent to Stratford, Connecticut, where his influence soon became widely recognised. The Church had no abler theologian. In a number of publications, he combated the arguments of Dissenters, and in time had so increased his congregation that a larger place of worship was made necessary. In 1743 he received the degree of D.D. from Oxford. In 1754 he became the first president of King's (afterwards Columbia) College, New York, which office he continued to hold, with much advantage to the institution, until 1763. In this year he went back to Stratford, and resumed the rectorship of the parish, which he retained until he died, in 1772. Many other converts from Yale came into the Church from year to year, and steady progress ensued, despite much and bitter opposition. Perhaps the most notable of these additional converts was the Rev. Abraham Beach, who graduated as valedictorian from Yale College, and was ordained in England in 1767. He commenced his ministerial work at New Brunswick, N.J., and in 1784 became assistant-minister of Trinity Church, New York, in which diocese he soon became an influential and honoured clergyman. He died near New Brunswick in 1828.

In the charter which Charles II. granted in 1681, provision was made for the introduction of the Church's ministrations into William Penn's colony,¹

¹ This concession was cheerfully made by Penn, at the request of Bishop Compton. Chalmers (644) asserts that the peaceful policy towards the Indians pursued by Penn was due to this same good Bishop's advice.

but it was not until a number of years afterwards (1694-95) that any steps seem to have been taken to carry the provision into effect. This delay was owing to the malignant and persistent opposition of the Quakers, who summoned before the civil courts such Churchmen as were bold enough to petition for clergymen. A church building (Christ Church) was erected at Philadelphia in 1695,¹ and the Rev. Richard Sewell, of Maryland, was the first clergyman to officiate in it. It was of brick, with galleries, large enough to accommodate more than 500 persons. The Rev. Dr. Dorr, in his history of the parish, describes it as "a goodly structure for those days." The first regular incumbent was the Rev. Thomas Clayton, who died of yellow fever, contracted in visiting the sick. He was succeeded for a short time by the Rev. Edward Portlock, from New Jersey, where he had been the first to introduce Church services. Mr. Evan Evans (lately of Brasenose College, Oxford) was the next minister, having been sent in 1700 by the Bishop of London.² He had as his assistant "a very sober ingenious gentleman," by name John Thomas.

These various clergymen were very zealous in their labours, and met with much success. They baptized a large number of persons (Mr. Evans computes that in seven years he had baptized not less than 800 children and adults), including many Quakers. Their evening services were attended, in part, by those who were afraid to come during the day, because of the opposition of their parents and masters. In a letter

¹ Its cost was about £600.

² See p. 43.

addressed, under date of January 18, 169^e, to Governor Nicholson, by Colonel Quarry and others, it is declared that a great number of people conformed to Quakerism only for want of other religious services, and further, that "the late great distractions and divisions amongst the Quakers, and the many notorious, wicked, and damnable principles and doctrines, discovered to be amongst the greatest part of them, this makes the rest very uneasy and inquisitive after truth and the sound doctrine of the Church of England, which makes us positively (*sic*) assert that a pious, good, and orthodox ministry would bring most of them over to the Church."

As early as 1704, the Rev. Henry Nicholls, in writing from Upland, *alias* Chester, says, "I guess that one-half of the inhabitants may be Churchmen." Later on, he joins others in asking further aid from the S.P.G. Their greatest want they declared to be "a schoolmaster to instruct our children and youth, which we are obliged to suffer to be corrupted with the base principles they must needs suck from Quaker masters and mistresses." Mr. Evans had a large field of labour, including one or two places in New Jersey. He also preached in Welsh fortnightly.

Among the clergy that early officiated (but not regularly) in Pennsylvania was the Rev. George Keith, who, in company with the Rev. John Talbot, made a tour of nearly all the colonies. Keith was a convert from the Quakers, and his "reasons for renouncing Quakerism and entering into communion with the Church of England" was considered to be

so convincing an argument that it was the first book chosen for publication by the S.P.C.K. at one of its earliest meetings in 1698-99. His return to America, after his ordination, was the signal for bitter revilings and opposition on the part of his former associates. Yet he worked on courageously and efficiently (he is said to have baptized 700 Quakers), until he went back, in 1704, to England, where he was presented to the living of Edburton in Sussex.¹ He died there in 1716, at an advanced age. Bishop Burnet, who was his fellow-student at Aberdeen, says of him, in his "History of my Own Times," "Keith was the most learned man ever in the Quaker sect, well versed both in the Oriental tongues and in philosophy and mathematics."

William III. showed his interest in the mission at Philadelphia by contributing £50 annually to the stipend of the clergyman, and £30 to that of the schoolmaster. During the incumbency of the Rev. Archibald Cummings (1726-40), Christ Church was greatly enlarged. The church-bells were sent over from England, and are said to be the oldest in the United States.

The church at Chester was built in 1702-3, very largely owing to the liberality of a noted benefactor of the Church, Colonel the Hon. Francis Nicholson. The vacancies constantly occurring, through deaths and removals, were so slowly filled that much harm arose

¹ He published, in 1706, a very interesting journal of his "Travels from New Hampshire to Caratuck, on the Continent of North America," giving an account of the incidents of his journeys and ministerial labours during the years 1702-4.

to the scattered and feeble congregations. This disadvantage was all the more increased by reason of the activity of the "dangerous sectaries, who are" (as is represented to the S.P.G., by a memorial from the clergy, 1719) "ever industrious to do mischief, and who are never at a loss for fit emissaries for that purpose."

Governor Patrick Gordon reports (July 1726) to the Bishop of London, that there were in Philadelphia above 800 communicants, but complains of an indifferent supply of services, owing to the Rev. Robert Weyman (whom he describes "as a very sober, good man") having two or three other churches, at some distance from one another, under his care.

In the beginning of its history, New Jersey would seem to have been almost wholly under either Presbyterian or Quaker influence. Bray, in his "Memorial," describes its inhabitants as being entirely "left to themselves, without priest or altar." Here and there were to be found stray Churchmen, whose loyalty was severely tested. One of these, Colonel Lewis Morris, in a communication which he addressed to the authorities at home, suggested several devices by which their number might be increased. Among these measures, were the confining to pious Churchmen the appointment of governors, and making only such persons eligible to membership in the Council and in the magistracy, and, further, the conferring upon them, by Act of Parliament, of some peculiar privileges.

The Rev. George Keith,¹ of whom some account has

¹ See pp. 39, 43, 44.

already been given, began his ministrations in South Amboy, on the Eighteenth Sunday after Trinity, October 4, 1700. Prior services had been held elsewhere (*e.g.*, in Monmouth), by the Rev. Alexander Innes, a man highly commended by the Rev. Mr. Talbot. The Rev. John Brooke was among the earliest clergymen of the diocese, being the founder of S. John's Church, Elizabeth-Town.¹ Of him it was said, late in the present century, by one of his successors,² "Mr. Brooke was an earnest, zealous, self-sacrificing missionary. The influence of his piety and devotion is still alive and is felt here, and the character he gave to the church it has never lost." It is highly probable that he occasionally officiated at Newark, where, from the beginning of its settlement, there was a contingent of Churchmen. It is also likely that, a little later on, the Rev. Thomas Halliday served a congregation there. By the year 1733, it had increased to what was called "a numerous assembly;" indeed, it had grown so much, that the famous Jonathan Dickinson was moved by his fellow-Presbyterians to preach a sermon against the Church, in which he likened her to "the weak and beggarly elements" of which his text (Gal. iv. 9) treated. Churchmen do not, however, appear to have been very generous in their gifts, inasmuch as the Rev. Jonathan Arnold, a missionary of the S.P.G., complains, in one of his letters, that he had "not received one penny from Staten Island or Newark during

¹ The first edifice in that parish was of brick, and was commenced on S. John the Baptist's Day, 1706.

² Rev. Samuel A. Clark, D.D., in his "History of S. John's Church."

the year, they being willing to purchase heaven without money and without price."

There were other places in the colony where the services of the Church were held at an even earlier period. At Perth Amboy, there is, in the wall of the chancel, a stone bearing the date of 1685, and the tradition of the parish has always been that this was the corner-stone of the original church building. Colonel Morris wrote in 1700 of there being only twelve communicants in the whole province, and Jeremiah Bass dates the history of the Church from the ministry of the Rev. Edward Portlock, which must have been somewhat prior to the year last mentioned. The parish was incorporated by royal charter in 1718. The Rev. William Skinner laboured there from 1722 to 1758, when he died. Mr. Portlock also officiated at Piscataway and Woodbridge, and after him the Rev. Mr. Brooke and the Rev. Edward Vaughan. It was at Colonel Morris's house in Shrewsbury that Mr. Keith, on Christmas Day, 1702, administered the Holy Communion. The same devout layman soon after erected a church-building at his own cost and charges. The history of S. George's Church, Swedesboro, goes back to the time when the Swedes erected the first sanctuary there, in 1703-4. This is also the date of the first building erected for S. Michael's, Trenton, although as late as 1737 the Rev. William Lindsay, who was "itinerant missionary" in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, could report only nineteen communicants as belonging to the parish.

Two or three other names deserve some record in

connection with the early ecclesiastical history of New Jersey. The Rev. Thoroughgood Moor (or Moore) proved his right to his Christian name by refusing the Sacrament to Lieutenant-Governor Ingolsby, a notorious evil-liver, who caused his arrest and imprisonment. He was released through the instrumentality of the Rev. Mr. Brooke, who, in turn, was so persecuted by Lord Cornbury, the Governor, that, with Mr. Moor, he set sail for England. They, however, did not live to see the land. Associated with Mr. Brooke in his work was the Rev. Thomas Halliday,¹ a man of the highest character. The Rev. Thomas Thompson came as missionary to these parts from a happy and prosperous ministry in England. He laboured hard for five years in Monmouth County, and then, such was his burning zeal, went to preach the Gospel to the negroes in Guinea. He may thus be accounted as the first foreign missionary from America to Africa.²

No priest of this period made a deeper impression upon the Church than the Rev. Thomas Bradbury Chandler, D.D. Oxon., a graduate of Yale College, who, after his ordination in England, became, in 1751, the rector of S. John's Church, Elizabeth, N.J. Here he laboured with great assiduity, and won the affection of his whole congregation to an extraordinary degree. His influence throughout the Colonies was

¹ See p. 46.

² In a letter to the secretary of the S.P.G., dated April 23, 1752, he complains of the "prevailing opinion amongst the vulgar, that a clergyman ought to lead a dejected, austere, and very mean life, that he may have real occasion to make use of all the patience which he recommends to the afflicted and miserable."

very considerable, because of the able and sturdy manner in which he maintained the integrity of the Church's principles. When the War of the Revolution approached, he retired to England, his sympathies being strongly in favour of the Crown. In 1783, he was requested by the wardens and vestrymen to return and resume his place as their rector. This he gladly did in 1785, being much interested in the welfare of the American Church, although his health did not permit the active discharge of his duties. On this same account, he declined his election to the Bishopric of Nova Scotia, which had been strongly urged upon him. He died in 1790, after a rectorship of thirty-eight years, and his body was interred under the church where he had laboured so long and so efficiently.

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CHAPTER III

CHURCH-GROWTH UNTIL THE REVOLUTION

Legislation against Roman Catholics—Relation between Church and State—Governor Nicholson—Tobacco the circulating medium—"The Parsons' cause"—Patrick Henry—Baptism of slaves—The Rev. Jonathan Boucher—The Rev. Devereux Jarratt—The Rev. Dr. Blair—The University of Henrico—Perils of attending services—Complexion of the population of Maryland—The Rev. Dr. Bray—The S.P.G. and America's debt to it—Religious toleration—Not to be credited to the Roman Catholics—Intolerance towards the Church—King's Chapel, Boston—The Price Lectures.

IN the previous chapters an account has been given of what may fairly be considered the inauguration of the Church's services in various parts of the older colonies. The present chapter will be devoted to a narrative of the Church's growth in some of these same colonies, up to the period of the War of the Revolution.

In Virginia, this growth was more marked than in some other colonies, because of the Church being more firmly established by law and by public sentiment. Yet, notwithstanding this fact, many Puritans resorted thither as early as 1620.¹ At first, they were cordially received and kindly treated, despite the intolerant and cruel behaviour of their fellow-religionists towards Churchmen in New England. Whether because of

¹ See "Struggles of Protestant Dissenters for Religious Toleration in Virginia," by Professor Henry R. M'Ilvaine.

such treatment or of their own conduct, they, in common with Roman Catholics (who had also shown a persecuting spirit elsewhere, particularly in Maryland), were legislated against during Berkeley's administration, *circa* 1642. Their ministers were not allowed to remain, and the Roman Catholics were made ineligible to hold office. This fact detracts from the praise which might otherwise be accorded to Virginia Churchmen for their loyalty. This loyalty to both Church and State was so intense that, even after they knew that Charles I. had been martyred, they decreed that any one calling into question the right of Charles II. should be accounted a traitor. It was not until a squadron under command of Sir George Ayscue arrived that they acknowledged the Commonwealth, and then only on condition that the use of the Book of Common Prayer and the services of their clergymen should be allowed for at least a year, and that the customary dues should be paid them. Sixteen months before the monarchy was restored at home, it was proclaimed in Virginia, and the Church was soon re-established. In 1649, there were in Virginia twenty churches, with as many ministers.

The relation between Church and State was made evident, among other things, by the clergy (in Maryland, as well as in Virginia) being inducted and instituted to their cures by the governor, under the appointment of the Bishop of London, and in the sovereign's name. Sometimes the governor would claim (not without dispute) the right to collate to vacant benefices.¹

¹ See p. 34.

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Their stipends, too, were regulated by law. Some of the governors showed much interest in ecclesiastical matters, soliciting from England a due supply of ministers, and selecting vestries that would properly support them. Occasionally, they were disposed to go beyond their prerogatives, and in their unfriendly officiousness became very troublesome to the clergy. To this class belongs Governor Nicholson,¹ whose conduct, as would appear from the correspondence of Commissary Blair and others, was very reprehensible. Some of the vestries had, or at least assumed, the authority to dismiss their clergy peremptorily, with or without the assignment of reasons.

In some of the colonies, it was the custom, far into the eighteenth century, to make tobacco the chief medium of payment for all kinds of debts, including the stipends of clergymen. These stipends were fixed in some parishes at 16,000 lbs. per annum. When sold, they would realise from £80 to £100; upon which sums the rectors are said to have lived (even when married) "very comfortably." The preference seems to have been given to what were called "sweet-scented parishes." These were they which raised sweet-scented tobacco, which always commanded a higher price in the market.

In the middle of the eighteenth century, when this commodity was very scarce and valuable, some of the

¹ To his credit it ought to be said that when he first came to the colony he brought five or six clergymen with him, and he is said, by the Rev. George Ross, to have been exceptionally liberal in his contributions for Church objects.

Virginia planters endeavoured to avail themselves of an act of the Assembly by which they might commute payment at the former market rate. To this course the clergy took exception; and they seemed to carry the public with them in their view of what was justly due them. At this juncture, the planters were fortunate enough to gain the advocacy of Patrick Henry, who, in conducting what was afterwards known as the "Parsons' cause," was discovered to possess such powers as an orator as enabled him not only to win this case, but to secure at once a foremost place among the public men of his day. The act to which reference has been made had not been approved by the King, but the Assembly determined to enforce it. The verdict in favour of the laymen was rendered amidst great excitement, which had been all the more intensified by the vehemence of Henry's invectives against the King, who, said he, "by disallowing acts of a salutary nature, from being the father of his people degenerates into a tyrant, and forfeits all rights to his subjects' obedience." He was then but twenty-seven years of age. It was not long before he became the leader of the party that precipitated the open rebellion against the throne, which eventually led to the independence of the Colonies.¹

We are enabled to estimate the value put upon other things besides ministers' salaries by the amount

¹ Patrick Henry was not, as some have alleged, an unbeliever. At heart he was a Churchman, and in the latter days of his life he showed in various ways his friendliness to the Church and to religion in general.

of tobacco allowed. The cost of three surplices was fixed at 5000 lbs. In Bristol parish, one Henry Tatem was paid 500 lbs. for setting the Psalms. In St. George's parish a fine of 500 lbs. was imposed upon such as absented themselves from church; while those who, "in contempt of the Divine Sacrament of Baptism, refused to have their children christened," were to pay 2000 lbs.

In this connection a curious question may be noted, which for a while caused considerable debate, viz., whether by reason of being baptized the slaves were made free. The Assembly finally decided that their outward relations to their masters were not thereby altered.¹

Among the clergy of Virginia belonging to this period, the Rev. Jonathan Boucher occupied a prominent position. He was rector of St. Mary's parish, Caroline County, and was a forcible and fervent advocate of Church principles, including the Episcopate, which he laboured assiduously to secure. He expressed his abhorrence of slavery, and urged his people to prepare for its ultimate abolition. He opposed the idea of national independence, and on

¹ This same question was discussed at the court of James II, a monarch whose personal character would hardly have prepared us for finding in him much solicitude on so purely religious a subject. Evelyn, however, makes this record: "I may not forget a resolution which his Majesty made, and had a little before entered upon it at the Council-Board at Windsor or Whitehall, that the Negroes in the Plantations should be baptized, exceedingly declaiming against that impiety of their masters prohibiting it, out of a mistaken opinion that they would be *ipso facto* free; but his Majesty persists in his resolution to have them christened, which piety the Bishop [Ken] blessed him for."

this account returned in 1785 to England, where he became Vicar of Epsom, and engaged largely in literary labours.¹

The Rev. Devereux Jarratt was also a most exemplary and influential clergyman in Virginia during this same period. He exhibited strong faith in the future of the American Church. He warmly espoused the Colonial cause, and urged his people to make any sacrifice in its behalf that was within their power. "Better," said he, "to go patch upon patch than suffer just rights to be infringed."

It is interesting to observe that, in the answer which the clergy of this colony, when assembled in Convention in 1719, made to a communication from the Bishop of London, they lamented that they were sometimes obliged to administer the Sacraments "without the decent habits and proper Ornaments and Vessels which our established Liturgy requires."²

At the meeting of the Assembly which was held in the choir of the church at Jamestown, July 30, 1619, the first steps were taken for the establishment of a university and college, as well for the Indian children as for those of the colonists. It was to be named the University of Henrico and the East India Free School. It doubtless would have been founded then, but for the disastrous Indian massacre of Opeccanough. For a number of subsequent years, the

¹ He published, in 1799, "A View of the Causes and Consequences of the American Revolution," dedicated to General Washington, and containing many entertaining anecdotes.

² The churchwardens in Virginia were required by law to provide these ornaments, as well as to keep the church buildings in repair.

project seemed dead. In the Assembly of 1660-61, another act was passed in reference to it. But very little seems to have been done to carry out its provisions until the arrival of the Rev. James Blair, D.D. This clergyman was born and educated in Scotland, where he officiated for a while. He afterwards removed to England, where his talents attracted the notice of Dr. Compton, Bishop of London, who prevailed upon him, in 1685, to go as missionary to Virginia. He was for nine years rector of Henrico Parish, and in 1689 was appointed commissary. He shortly afterwards began to collect funds for the proposed college, which before long amounted to £2500. He went to England in 1691, and obtained the patronage and charter of the King and Queen for William and Mary College, of which he was named the first President. In the charter, it was provided that the institution should be a seminary for the education of fit men for the sacred ministry, and also for the propagation of the Christian faith. The buildings were designed by Sir Christopher Wren. The first commencement was held in 1700, and was an event of great interest throughout the colony. The buildings were destroyed by fire in 1705, and re-erected in 1719-23. Inasmuch as the wealthy planters continued for a while to send their sons to England for education, and the governors and many of the clergy held aloof, it required great energy on the part of Dr. Blair to make a success of the enterprise. A number of the young men who went to England for ordination were indebted for their early training to

this institution. Prior to the year 1689, the Rev. Mr. Temple appears to have acted as commissary under some sort of verbal authority. A number of free schools existed at this time in Virginia, supported mostly by the planters. In 1724, there were as many as four schools in a number of parishes, in some of which Latin and Greek were taught.

We have mentioned several names among the more prominent clergymen. Among the active and useful laymen in these days of Virginia were Morgan Morgan (one of the founders of Mill Creek Church) and his son. Both were devout men, who served for some time most acceptably as lay-readers, of whom there were a good many in various parts of the country.

Not all the laymen were total abstainers. We read that, in 1703, an order was issued by one of the country vestries for two gallons of rum for the use of the workmen engaged in underpinning a church—certainly a liberal supply for such a job.

Attendance upon public worship was oftentimes accompanied by perils and anxiety. Many of the people brought with them their fire-arms and a supply of ammunition, to protect themselves from Indians. Later on, we have an account of a clergyman, living near the present city of Washington, who for more than six months preached with a pair of loaded pistols on the cushion by his side, that he might defend himself against any attempt to remove him from the pulpit on account of his political views.

Mention has already been made of the original efforts put forth by the Church for the evangelisation

of Maryland. The early settlers there were very earnest and persistent in asking for clergymen. Yet, notwithstanding the interest in the matter shown by the King and by the Archbishop of Canterbury, there were only three clergymen in the province at the end of the seventeenth century. At that time, by actual investigation, it was found that of the whole population, tent-twelfths were Protestants, one-twelfth Quakers, and the same number Roman Catholics. Appeals (seconded by the Governor and Assembly) were frequent and strong for bishops, or, in their absence, for at least a commissary. In this latter capacity, Bishop Compton appointed the Rev. Thomas Bray, D.D., a clergyman of marked ability and devotion. Before setting sail for America, he busied himself in securing the proper kind of missionaries to accompany him. He also projected a scheme for supplying the Colonial parishes with libraries which might be instructive for both minister and people. Before he died, nearly forty of them were established in America, besides as many in England and elsewhere.¹ The first was at Annapolis, and it received a liberal donation from the Princess Anne, in honour of whom that capital was named. These efforts led to the formation, in 1698, of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

Different acts of Parliament were passed in 1692 and 1694 for the establishment of the Church in Mary-

¹ This same work, under the fostering care of a body known as Dr. Bray's Associates, is still carried on in various parts of Great Britain and her colonies. There are in all not less than three hundred of such libraries in various parts of the world.

land, which object had been more or less accomplished by earlier legislation on the part of the Provincial Assembly, whose members in the beginning were careful, in protecting the rights of the Church of England, to be tolerant of other religious societies and opinions. Lord Baltimore, under whom the formal settlement of Maryland began, was at the time a Roman Catholic; but the charter by Charles I. (1632), under which he proceeded, distinctly recognised and established the Church of England, and nothing was to be done contrary to the ecclesiastical law of the realm of England. His own acts recognised the Church of England as the rightful authority.¹ The Assembly of 1639 and that of 1640 declared that "Holy Church within this Province shall have her rights and liberties."

Much interest has centered around a controversy as to the origin of that act of religious toleration for which Maryland is so justly celebrated, having been, it is claimed, the first legally constituted government that formulated a sentiment now almost universally held. Great pains have been taken by Roman Catholics to prove that the credit for such legislation belongs to them. But it must be remembered that Lord Baltimore, although a fair man,² and one of uncommonly liberal proclivities, was an alien as to his religion, and that therefore he and his fellow Roman Catholics were really the tolerated party in the Anglican province.

¹ See "Our Freedom and our Catholic Heritage," a charge by the Right Rev. William Paret, D.D., Bishop of Maryland, 1890, pp. 18, 19.

² It was he who dispossessed the Jesuits of land which they had illegally obtained from the Indians.

Moreover, it is altogether likely—if not morally certain—that a decided majority of the Assembly which passed the act forbidding the molesting of any one who professed to believe in Jesus Christ were Protestants, and members of the English Church.

In 1648 William Stone, the Governor—an ancestor of Bishop Stone of Maryland—took the following oath: “I will not molest, trouble, or discountenance any person in this province professing to believe in Jesus Christ, in particular no Roman Catholic.” What does this signify but that the Roman Catholics were the tolerated and the protected?

While there was this liberty accorded to all who acknowledged the cardinal tenets of Christianity, the Assembly did not hesitate to condemn anything like open hostility to such tenets. Blasphemy, the denial of Christ’s Divinity and of the doctrine of the Trinity, were punished with death. Reproachful words as to the Blessed Virgin or the Apostles were punished with fine, imprisonment, or whipping.

It may be true that afterwards the Roman Catholics when in power permitted other Christians to settle and to enjoy such worship as they preferred, so long as it was really Christian worship.¹ It certainly is true that so soon as the Independents, or adherents of the Parliament, obtained, in the early years of the eighteenth century, the ascendancy, they repealed the laws of toleration, prohibited “Popery and Prelacy,”

¹ The benefit of a doubt is given to them, for it has recently been maintained by some historical students that there is no evidence to prove that they had a majority in the Assembly.

forbade the Roman clergy from saying Mass, except in private houses, and generally from exercising any of their spiritual functions. They were also, by reason of test oaths, debarred from holding offices. But this action cannot be charged against the Churchmen of the day, who, of course, were not participants in the revolution which brought it about.

At the beginning of Dr. Bray's incumbency as commissary, but before he had left England, an act of Assembly was passed, compelling the use of the Book of Common Prayer in every place of public worship within the province. This, however, was seen, upon remonstrances from the Roman Catholics and Quakers, to be unfair, as also inconsistent with former acts of toleration. Therefore it was repealed. Dr. Bray now thought it necessary that he should go to Maryland, and accordingly went thither in December 1699. Upon his arrival, he called the clergy together in convention, and conferred with them as to matters concerning the welfare of the Church. He immediately afterwards set about his parochial visitations, which were productive of much good. In 1701 he returned to England, and, by means of laws which he was mainly instrumental in having passed and royally approved, the Church was fully established in Maryland, both as to its polity and the support of its ministers. In this same year, he had the signal honour of obtaining a charter for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, to whose benefactions the whole world has been and is now so largely indebted. Indeed, it is difficult

to over-estimate the debt of gratitude still owing by the American Church to this venerable society. In 1706, Dr. Bray accepted the living of S. Botolph-without-Aldgate, and thenceforth resided in England, although in various ways he continued until his death to manifest his warm and intelligent interest in the American Colonies.

Among the most laborious and scholarly clergymen in Maryland during this period was the Rev. Hugh Jones, who, in 1696, became rector of Christ Church, Calvert County. He was afterwards a professor in William and Mary College.

During the earlier days of the eighteenth century, the Church's revenues were not infrequently tampered with by the Provincial Legislatures. Thus those stipends of the clergy which were made up partly of fees and tobacco payments were considerably reduced.¹ Efforts in this direction were stimulated as well by political agitators as by unfriendly Dissenters. Sometimes, too, they were due to such parishioners as were restive under the rebukes administered to them because of their careless and evil living. Later on, this injustice went so far as to obtain legislative action forbidding the clergy to meet together for consultation on any subject.

This hostility to the Church was not confined to any one section. She had to fight her way more or less—sometimes for her very existence—in almost every

¹ The clergy often had occasion to complain that the tobacco given them in payment of their salaries was inferior in quality to that which had been promised.

part of the country, notably so in New England. On the Sunday after Ascension Day, May 23, 1686, the Rev. Robert Ratcliffe, M.A. Oxon.,¹ who had arrived the day before with Joseph Dudley, President of Massachusetts, held his first service and preached at Boston in the Town-house, which was fitted up with some care for use on Sundays and other days. This building was so occupied for some time, although efforts were constantly made by the Governor to obtain the use of the more convenient meeting-houses of the city. In the following year, the Governor, Sir Edmund Andrews, renewed these efforts, but for a while without avail. Permission to ring a bell for service was refused, on the ground that it would be intrenching on the liberty of conscience!

At length, a reluctant consent was obtained from the authorities of "South Church," and services were held there (in common with, but at different hours from, the Puritans) for a season.² But angry disputes and controversies ensued. Exception was taken to the time consumed in sermons and in the celebration of the Holy Communion. (It is noteworthy that one of the first steps taken by these pioneer Churchmen was the establishment of the weekly offertory for the maintenance of services.)

To ensure greater peace and reverence, Churchmen erected, in 1689, a plain structure, known as King's

¹ He is described by a Dissenting historian as "an eminent preacher."

² It is stated by some that this building was used by order of the Governor. See "History of the American Episcopal Church," by the Rev. S. D. M'Connell, D.D., p. 44.

Chapel, and situated on the site of the present edifice. In April 1689, a revolution against the King occurred, and there ensued an almost entire extinction of the Church for the time being. The Governor and others were imprisoned, and the chaplain was obliged to flee. The chapel was mutilated and subjected to the grossest indignities. The Prayer-Book was held up to ridicule and opprobrium in a series of pamphlets, and those who continued to use it were denominated Papist dogs and rogues, idolaters, and the like. Despite the abuse and danger which they had to encounter, other clergymen were found willing to resume the services at the chapel, and in 1696 the former chaplain returned from England, with a number of valuable presents from King William and Queen Mary, including a Communion service, altar-linen, &c., as also a promise of £100 annually for the support of the clergy. In 1710 the chapel was much enlarged, and furnished with an organ, which instrument was the first of its kind in New England.

It may be convenient to give at this point the concluding parts of the history of this chapel, inasmuch as it constitutes an important episode in the annals of the Church in New England. Its congregation continued to grow, until at the accession of George I. it numbered nearly 800. In the middle of the eighteenth century it was rebuilt of stone, and the Rev. Mr. Caner became rector. Among the largest contributors to the new edifice was Peter Faneuil, who gave to the city the hall named after him, which has been so famous for many years. During the political troubles

which brought on the War of the Revolution, the congregation were scattered, and the building was closed until the year 1777, when the Old South Congregational Society occupied it while their own meeting-house was being repaired. In the spring of 1783, Churchmen began to return to the chapel, but in many instances with their ecclesiastical views sadly tintured with Unitarianism and scepticism. They invited a Mr. Freeman, a pronounced heretic, to be their minister, who before long undertook to revise the Prayer-Book in accordance with his heterodox ideas. Efforts were made to have him ordained by Bishop Seabury, and afterwards by Bishop Provoost. The former prelate instantly refused. The latter deferred action until the General Convention should decide the matter. The congregation, however, in anticipation of a refusal, proceeded, by an "ordaining vote," and by the laying on of hands of the senior warden, to make him "Rector, Minister, Priest, Pastor, Teaching Elder, and Public Teacher of the Society worshipping at King's Chapel." All this was not done without a formal protest from the minority of the former worshippers, who were also sustained in their action by a published notice on the part of the clergy in Boston, warning the Church against Mr. Freeman. From that time until now, the building has been in the hands of the Unitarians, who show no disposition to restore it to its rightful owners, although, through the courtesy of its so-called proprietors, it was used for two Sundays, in 1858, by the congregation of the Church of the Advent, whose building was then undergoing repairs.

William Price (who died in 1780) founded a course of lectures, which are still faithfully delivered in Trinity Church, Boston,¹ during the season of Lent, by the rectors of Trinity Church and Christ Church. Among the subjects prescribed in the will by Mr. Price are the following: The Value and Necessity of Fasting; of the Lord's Supper; of the Duty of obeying Kings; of the Errors of the Church of Rome; against Enthusiasm and Superstition; of the Sufferings of our Lord.

¹ These lectures were given in King's Chapel until about 1839, when Trinity Church assumed the administration of the trusts under the will. They were delivered there again during the year after Trinity Church was destroyed by fire.

CHAPTER IV

THE PURITANS, THE WESLEYS, AND WHITEFIELD

The intolerance of the Puritans—Tolerance towards them—Opposition of the Quakers—Church-growth in Rhode Island—Bishop Berkeley—Lotteries—Benjamin Franklin—Church-life in North Carolina—Early services in Georgia—John Wesley—His zeal—His imprudence—His return to England—Charles Wesley—Whitefield—His ministrations—Estimate of his influence—The Rev. Dr. M'Sparran.

IT is difficult to pursue the history of the Church in New England, beyond the periods and localities included in the previous chapters, without taking some further notice of the course adopted by the Puritans. This will not be entered into with any fulness of detail, since, from the illustrations given, the reader can easily judge what Churchmen had to endure on this account.

With that inconsistency which usually characterises those who separate themselves from the Catholic Church, the Puritans (whose leaders in the beginning were from among the English clergy) declared that they still belonged to the Church of England; and yet, before long, they joined with her avowed enemies in reviling and persecuting her. There seemed to be nothing too bad for them to say or do against her Liturgy and clergy. It is not uncharitable to allude

to the fact that their motives for coming to America were not wholly religious and unselfish. Before leaving England originally, they had prudently obtained a charter, which gave them a monopoly of the coasting trade from Nova Scotia to the southern extremity of Carolina, a trade which they already knew to be a profitable one.¹ In Presbyterian Holland, there was but little hope of their ever gaining the ascendancy, with their known predilections for Episcopacy. Naturally enough, therefore, with their love of power and of money, they looked to the advantages promised them in their liberal franchise. It would also appear that, in their settlement in New England, they showed but little regard for the Indians, who had for a long time been in possession of the land, calling them "tawny pagans," "rabid wolves," "pernicious creatures," "very devils." Even when these poor people attempted to defend themselves, they were cruelly murdered. In a "History of Connecticut," the Puritans are accused of having slaughtered not less than 180,000 in that province and in Massachusetts.

And yet, in the charter granted to them, in 1629, by Charles I., it was expressly stated that the corporate powers were given them so as to enable them to win and incite the natives of the country to the knowledge and obedience of the one only true God and Saviour of mankind, which intention was also therein declared

¹ The settlement, in 1638, of New Haven was plainly a commercial scheme. Even earlier, when King James had asked what profits they anticipated from the charter which they were seeking at his hands, they replied, "Fishing."

to be their own free profession, and the principal end of that profession.¹

Unquestionably, there was in their proscription of others something of what may be called religious zeal. It is, however, much more easy to discover the zeal than the religion. They complained bitterly (at times, it may be, justly enough) of intolerance towards themselves on the part of the Church; and yet, before leaving England, they had spoken of her as "our dear mother," and considered themselves honoured in being allowed to employ this title.² Indeed, such clergymen as Dr. Lake (the Bishop of Bath and Wells) and John White (rector of Dorchester), in encouraging the colonists to go out, seem to have expected that they would be true to their Church principles. It is quite unlikely that otherwise they would have been allowed to depart.

And it ought to be remembered that it was from a body of loyal Churchmen³ (under the presidency of Sir Ferdinando Gorges) that the Leyden Pilgrims received permission to locate at Plymouth. These were generally of a more Churchly and conciliatory disposition than their brethren of Massachusetts Bay. The difference between them is plainly to be seen in studying the Seven Articles of the Church of Leyden.

The Puritans were friendly enough to the idea of an establishment, but it was to be one conducted on

¹ "Ancient Colony Laws," pp. 14, 15.

² See Winthrop's farewell letter.

³ The term "Plymouth Company" has been confounded with that of the Plymouth or Leyden Pilgrims. This error does great injustice to the character of the Churchmen who constituted the society.

such a policy or such principles as they themselves might consider best calculated to accomplish their own ends. Such an establishment they set up as soon as they could in Massachusetts and Connecticut. An act against heresy, passed in 1658, speaks of "the Order established in Church and Commonwealth."¹ Indeed, this "order" was not entirely abolished in Massachusetts until 1834, when, the Unitarians having possessed themselves of a number of buildings heretofore occupied by the Congregational societies, to whom certain taxes had been all along appropriated, a successful effort was made to repeal such laws as had allowed this pecuniary advantage.

Even Neal, in his "History of New England,"² is obliged to acknowledge that they were "no better friends to liberty of conscience than their adversaries, adding that "the question between them was not whether one party of Christians should have power to oppress another, but *who* should have the power;" and this power they assumed to extend even beyond their territorial limits. A sea-captain, who in mid-ocean had spoken his mind freely against them, was obliged to answer for it to them in Massachusetts.

There was nothing which they did not undertake to regulate. While some were pleased to allow that a clergyman ordained by an English bishop required no further credentials to officiate when called to a society of Congregationalists, others compelled such to submit to "a reordination by the brethren." This

¹ "Ancient Colony Laws," p. 124.

² Vol. i. p. 329.

ceremony was gone through with, *e.g.*, in the case of the Rev. Thomas Hooker, at Newtown (afterwards Cambridge), in the year 1633, and of Master Cotton, at Boston, in the same year. Episcopal ordination was even looked upon as something for which those receiving it must needs apologise, and there seems to be reason for believing that in some instances they were obliged to recant it.

President Oakes, of Harvard College, in an election sermon before the civil dignitaries, declared, "I look upon toleration as the first-born of all abomination." In the Larger Catechism (published in 1768), tolerating a false religion is classed among the transgressions of the Second Commandment. Under such instruction, it is no wonder that we read a great deal about persecution of those who differed from the Puritans. Persons against whom the only charge was that they had petitioned for exemption from some of the lighter taxes and for more liberty of conscience, were imprisoned. One Briscoe, who had written a book upon the subject, was punished by the magistrates.

Some offenders, in "crimes" whose enormity it is difficult to comprehend, lost their ears; some had their tongues bored through with red-hot irons, were whipped and starved; while death was the punishment of others.¹ Indeed, the cruelties thus practised became so notorious, that Charles II. was obliged to interfere and forbid them. They ceased, therefore, chiefly because they were no longer safe. There are

¹ See Neal's "Puritans," vol. i. p. 334.

some now numbered among the Puritans' eulogists who, if they had lived in the days of these same "Pilgrim Fathers," would in all probability have been committed by them to the flames.¹

Mr. John Beach writes from Reading, in the middle of the eighteenth century, concerning the condition of Connecticut Churchmen: "The case of this people is very hard. If on the Lord's Day they stay at home, they must be punished. If they meet to worship God according to the Church of England, in the best manner they can, their mulct is still greater; and if they go to the Independent meeting in the town where they live, they must endure the mortification of hearing the doctrine and worship of the Church vilified and enervated by enthusiastic Antinomian dreams."² About this same period, there were within the colony fourteen churches built and in process of erection. These were served by seven clergymen, and more were asked for daily.

In Pennsylvania, the opposition of the Quakers still continued. The Church people of Chester secured the services of a very competent schoolmaster; but no sooner had he arrived and shown his interest in religious affairs, than the Quakers engaged a Roman Catholic teacher to come and endeavour to drive out the Churchmen from the town. They also joined

¹ See "Puritanism," by the Rev. Dr. Thomas W. Coit. See also the "Bohlen Lectures" (1882), by the Right Rev. S. S. Harris, D.D., pp 92-99.

² He himself had been cruelly treated by the Puritans, who, because of his use of the Bible and Prayer-Book (he had been a Congregational minister), had his house burned before his eyes.

Deists and Jacobites in intimidating children from attending his school. The rector, the Rev. Richard Backhouse, was at the same time (in his own language) "hunted as a wild beast, to be run down or drove away." During the year 1729-30, he baptized over 150 adults and children. In Philadelphia, between September 1741 and March 15, 1742, over 100 were baptized by the Rev. Æneas Ross. In this number were included twelve negro men and women, who said their Catechism publicly in the church, to the great admiration of the congregation. At Huntingdon, in about eighteen months, the missionary, the Rev. Thomas Barton, baptized 170 adults and infants. He writes energetically (November 8, 1756, shortly after General Braddock's defeat) of "the sad effects of Popish Tyranny and savage Cruelty." "Tho' my Churches," he says, "are Churches militant indeed, subject to dangers and trials of the most alarming kind, yet I have the pleasure every Sunday, even at the worst of Times, to see my people crowding with their Muskets on their shoulders; declaring that they will dye (*sic*) Protestants and Freedmen sooner than live Idolaters and Slaves." The Church in Philadelphia continued to grow, despite the opposition already noted. Resort, however, had to be made to what came to be subsequently considered very objectionable methods of raising money. In 1752, steps were taken to build a steeple and provide bells for Christ Church, and in furtherance of this project a lottery was formed, of which Benjamin Franklin (a vestryman of the parish) was one of the

managers.¹ Similar measures were adopted in Church enterprises elsewhere throughout the country.

In the neighbouring province of Delaware (or rather what was called "the Territories of Pennsylvania," and "the three lower Counties on Delaware") some of the best missionary work of this period was done. It involved much tedious travelling, and the resources of the Church were very limited; but the results were on the whole encouraging. During one of his journeys in Sussex County, the Rev. George Ross (who for some time was missionary at Newcastle) baptized, in the course of a week, as many as 102 persons. In the following spring (1717), he spent another week in the same county, accompanied by the Governor, Colonel William Keith, and baptized 100 persons. The Rev. William Becket, who followed him in his labours there, was a very zealous and successful priest. A complaint, by no means unnecessary nowadays, was entered by one of these early clergymen in his report to "the venerable Society": "As to the behaviour of my hearers at the public worship, it is not to be complained of, save that the word Amen, for want of a clerk, is much suppressed among us."

The Church's growth in Rhode Island received quite

¹ In a letter addressed to his daughter, under date of November 8, 1754, Franklin writes: "Go constantly to church. The act of devotion in the Common Prayer-Book is your principal business there, and, if properly attended to, will do more towards amending the heart than sermons generally do. . . . I wish you would never miss the prayer days." It was he who, when the Convention of 1787, for framing the Federal Constitution, had made but small progress in its business, proposed that the clergy of Philadelphia should be invited to say prayers at the morning sessions of the Convention.

an impetus from the temporary residence of Dean (afterwards Bishop) Berkeley, whose pious and generous intentions and labours in behalf of the Colonies ought always to be most gratefully remembered.¹ While his main design (the establishment of a college for America) was not carried out, owing to unfulfilled promises on the part of his political friends, his work was by no means inconsiderable. In the feeble condition of the Church at that time, his presence and influence must have done much to reassure the faint-hearted and faltering. It is also a satisfaction to feel that, in the happy results of the foundation of the Berkeley Divinity School at Middletown, Connecticut, his name is most honourably associated with the literature and theology of the Church he loved so dearly.² His preaching attracted great crowds of all sects at Trinity Church, Newport. "Even the Quakers," it is said, "with their broad-brimmed hats, came and stood in the aisles." We have already noted the influence he exerted upon Samuel Johnson in bringing him into the Church. On his return to England, and up to his death, he continued to show, in various ways, his interest in the welfare of the Colonies. Especially was this evinced by his gift—largely through the assistance of his friends—of a thousand volumes

¹ In the year 1698, through the agency of Sir Francis Nicholson, a congregation was gathered in Newport by the Rev. John Lockier. In 1702 a church was built.

² It is but justice, in a volume of this character, to record the fact that much of the good reputation and efficiency of this "school of the prophets" is owing, under God, to the present (1894) Bishop of Connecticut, the Right Rev. John Williams, D.D., LL.D., who may fairly be considered its chief founder and benefactor.

to the library of Yale College (now University). The farm which he also deeded to this same institution still goes by the name of "The Dean's Farm."

There was no part of the country, perhaps, where the missionaries of the Church had more privations to endure during this period than in North Carolina. (The former colony of Carolina was divided, in 1729, into two distinct provinces, North and South Carolina.) Travelling was difficult; much of the country was unhealthful; the Nonconformists offered violent opposition; the stipends were meagre and only partially paid. To save themselves and their families from starving, some were compelled to labour with their own hands in various ways. In 1703, Mr. Henderson wrote to the Bishop of London that for twenty-one years there was neither priest nor altar. In 1704, the Rev. Mr. Blair came from England, and in a short time baptized 100 children. By an act of Assembly passed in 1715, the entire province was divided into nine parishes, and the vestries fixed the stipends at not more than £50. The name of the Rev. Clement Hall is well entitled to a place of honour among these pioneer missionaries. With a stipend from the S.P.G. of not more than £30 per annum, and in anything but robust health, he laboured most incessantly over a large area for more than ten years, until he was obliged, from physical exhaustion, to ask for a less trying field. He computed that in the eight years ending with 1752, he had travelled not less than 14,000 miles, preached 700 sermons, and baptized more than 6000 children and adults, including several hundred negroes and Indians.

In Rowan County alone, there were, in 1766, nearly 2000 members of the Church, as shown by returns made to Governor Tryon.

The chief interest in the early ecclesiastical history of Georgia is centered in the persons of men whose names became well known everywhere. The colony was favoured in having for its founder so benevolent and experienced a man as General Oglethorpe, whose praises have been sung by both Pope and Thomson, and who so excited the admiration of Dr. Johnson, that he expressed his willingness to write his life if he were furnished with the necessary material. In his first expedition, which landed in January 1733, he had as chaplain the Rev. Henry Herbert, D.D., who was assisted in his work by the Rev. Samuel Quincy. Services were held in a hut, made of split boards, 30 × 12 feet in dimensions. It was not long after the organisation of the settlement that the father of John and Charles Wesley died at his rectory at Epworth. The old man (who presented the infant colony with a chalice and paten) had joined the nobility and gentry in congratulating Oglethorpe, who had temporarily returned to England, upon the success of his philanthropic enterprise, and had added his personal thanks for some substantial favours shown him by the distinguished voyager. So it was that he and the Wesleys were brought into intimate relations with each other. When Oglethorpe was about going again to Georgia, he persuaded the two brothers to accompany him. They sailed with him from Gravesend, October 13, 1735. Their chief object was the conversion of the Indians.

In his journal, begun on the following day, John makes this entry: "Our end in leaving our native country was not to avoid want (God having given us plenty of temporal blessings), nor to gain the dung or dross of riches or honour; but singly this, to save our souls to live wholly to the glory of God." Charles remained in Savannah only about four months. He was energetic and laborious, but from want of discretion became so involved in difficulties with Oglethorpe and others that his usefulness was greatly impaired. "I could not be more trampled upon," he wrote, "were I a fallen minister of state. My few well-wishers are afraid to speak to me; the servant that used to wash my linen sent it back unwashed. Thanks be to God! it is not yet made a capital offence to give me a morsel of bread." He seems to have been very strenuous as to a literal interpretation of the rubrics, and was (like his brother) almost immovable in insisting upon trine immersion.

John was most diligent in his ministry (he hardly had an hour's rest on Sundays), and set for others a high standard of discipline.¹ For a while, the people were moved by his evident earnestness, and gave him credit for great piety; but before long he excited their suspicions as to his orthodoxy and sincerity. They began to resent his efforts to enforce the strict discipline which he had laid down, under the title of "Apostolical Institutions." He was accused of fana-

¹ Christ Church, Savannah, was the only American parish he ever had. The same may be said of Whitefield, who succeeded him in this cure.

ticism, hypocrisy, and of being at heart a Papist. This latter charge was based in part upon his efforts to introduce auricular confession and acts of penance. He might possibly have overcome the prejudice thus enkindled against him, had it not been for a formidable trouble in which his love affairs involved him. Shortly after his arrival, he became enamoured of a lady who is variously spoken of as a niece of Thomas Causton (a magistrate, and Oglethorpe's agent) and a niece of his wife. He erroneously supposed that she returned his affection, but before long she married a Mr. Williamson. Who can tell the effect thus produced upon the future life of the famous reformer? Mrs. Williamson did not withdraw herself from Wesley's ministrations, but in some way her conduct appeared reprehensible to him, and he did not hesitate to reprove her publicly. This act enraged Mr. Causton, and he demanded a public apology, which was refused. Wesley then warned Mrs. Williamson not to come to the Holy Communion. Her husband instituted a suit against him, and claimed damages to the amount of £1000. When he appeared before the magistrates and denied the charge of defaming her character, he contradicted their right even to interrogate him concerning the charge of refusing the Lord's Supper, saying that it was a matter purely ecclesiastical, and was therefore beyond their jurisdiction. A true bill was found against him by the Grand Jury,¹ who in

¹ The jury was not unanimous in the matter, a number of the members protesting against the charges as libellous, and justifying his course in the ecclesiastical matters included in the indictment.

their indictment went quite beyond the matter specially referred to them, and covered the whole ground of dissatisfaction with him, in a series of grievances, or "deviations from the principles and regulations of the Established Church."

The case never came fairly before the court, and all attempts at reconciliation failed. But few persons presented themselves at the weekly Eucharist, and Wesley at last announced his intention to set sail for England. The magistrates ordered him to give bail for his appearance in court, but he disregarded their threats; and, towards the close of the year 1737, he left Georgia, amid the anathemas of some and the blessings of others. In 1758, the Assembly passed an act by which the province was divided into eight parishes, and recognition was made of the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England. In 1771, the census of Savannah showed 1185 Churchmen, out of a total population of 1995.

Wesley, in his earnest appeals for helpers in the work of evangelising America, had touched the heart of George Whitefield. He offered himself, while yet a deacon, as a missionary to the S.P.G.¹ Leaving hosts of ardent admirers and prospects of a most flattering character, he started for Georgia, without suspecting that he might cross Wesley on his way home, but thinking to serve with him in the labours to which he had been invited. It was on Rogation

¹ It would appear that the Society did not formally appoint him, and that his name was found in its proceedings only in connection with the assaults which he so continually made upon its missionaries.

Sunday, May 7, 1738, that he reached Savannah. He immediately began his ministrations, but was soon obliged to suspend them for a while, on account of illness. When he resumed them, it was with all the greater energy. While he was busy in various directions, his chief occupation was public preaching. For the purpose of receiving priest's orders, and also of soliciting funds for a proposed orphanage in the colony, he returned in the autumn to England, where he was ordained by the Bishop of Gloucester, January 14, 1739. He remained there until August of the same year, diligently employing the intervening months in preaching and in gathering money for the orphanage. Wherever he went, great crowds flocked to hear him. His eccentricities caused some incumbents to refuse him their pulpits, but in such cases he had all the larger congregations (especially of colliers) at his open-air services. After his arrival from England, he travelled south leisurely, stopping and preaching on his way in New York, Philadelphia, and elsewhere. On his return to Savannah, he assumed charge of the parish, and inaugurated his orphan-house, which he called Bethesda.

It was not long before he instituted such a series of irregularities in the conduct of public worship, and contracted such an alliance with Dissenters, as weaned from him the sympathy of the more pronounced Churchmen. These were still more alienated from him by reason of his ridicule of some of the prominent divines of the Church, his disuse of surplice and gown, and other like proceedings. In Charleston, he was

bound over to answer in court the charge of libel against the clergy; and, as we have already noted, Commissary Garden suspended him for omitting the use of the Prayer-Book. He gave security for his appearance, and sailed again for England, where for a while he would seem to have lost his former popularity. In time, however, it returned, and great congregations followed him from place to place. He made a number of other journeys across the Atlantic, and in America travelled throughout all the colonies.¹ It was in his mind to develop the orphanage into a State university, but death overtook him before his plans in this respect were ripened. He died at Newburyport, Massachusetts, September 30, 1770, and his bones are still shown, with something akin to superstitious reverence, in a brick vault under the pulpit in what is known as the "Old South Presbyterian Church" in that town. This appropriation by Dissenters of his remains seems hardly consistent with his own final declaration that he still considered himself in the communion of the Anglican Church. He was buried in gown, cassock, and bands. Some few years ago, a part of an arm was carried off to England, but the conscience-stricken thief subsequently returned it.

In their correspondence with the S.P.G., a number of the missionaries gave vent to the strong convictions which they had as to his vagaries and the harm resulting therefrom. Mr. Ross, in writing from New Castle, Delaware, under date of August 1, 1740, speaks of his

¹ His favourite motto was, "It is better to wear out than to rust out."

"opprobrious language," styles him "the mischievous Mr. Whitfield," "this indefatigable impostor in gown and cassock." Mr. Backhouse, of Chester, writes, on August 23, 1740, "That great enthusiast (to say no worse of him), Mr. Whitfield, has preached twice at our town. But most of those belonging to my congregations are far from entertaining even a common good opinion of him." Mr. Howie, the missionary at Oxford, Pennsylvania, declares that "he has done a great deal of harm," and calls upon the authorities at home to "put a stop to his mad career." "He has printed in the public newspaper vile libels against the great and good prelate, Archbishop Tillotson, and another against that excellent book, 'The Whole Duty of Man,' and desired a great auditory to burn it, telling them that he would burn as many as came to his hand." "He has warmly admonished his hearers to frequent in his absence the Presbyterian and Anabaptist meetings. He has violently exclaimed (like a true fanatic) against the Body of Bishops and Clergy of England," &c. "I have observed that infidels and Deists seem strongly inclined to favour his cause, and that those who are most bigoted to this new preacher have not as yet reformed their lives and conversations." Mr. Currie, of Radnor, calls him, "This strolling preacher with a musical voice, agreeable delivery, and a Brazen Forehead," and says, "This deceiver pretends to be the only true minister of the Church of England now in America, and yet he has a criminal regard for all those who have ever been her avowed enemies." The opinion of Mr. Pugh (Apoquinimy,

Delaware) is that the bad effects upon the people of Mr. Whitefield's raillery against the clergy of the Church of England were seen in their refraining "very much, not only from the Communion, but from the coming to church." Even so amiable a man as Mr. Peters, of Philadelphia, would seem to have been very much in doubt as to whether it would be advisable to ask him to preach, and can only say of his discourses that they were "without the usual censures of the clergy, and with a greater moderation of sentiment," and that he hopes his stay "will be attended rather with good than harm to the churches." Bishop White does not seem to have entertained a favourable opinion of the results of his mission.¹ The General Association of Connecticut, at a meeting held in 1745, passed a resolution to the effect that it would by no means be advisable that he should be admitted into their pulpits; and Samuel Seabury, in a letter to the S.P.G. (October 6, 1764), expresses the fear that he had done a great deal of mischief. It was not from the Church clergy only that he met opposition. Many of the most prominent Congregational and Presbyterian ministers objected to his whole course of procedure.

After making all due allowance for prejudice, arising from any source, it seems quite unlikely that such faithful and self-denying men as have been quoted above would have deliberately done Mr. Whitefield injustice.²

¹ See "*Memoirs*," pp. 22 *sqq.*

² Secker, who at the time of his writing (1741) was Bishop of Oxford, thus replies to some of the charges which he had made against the Society's missionaries: "You must permit me to say, and I do it with sincere good will to you, that I am persuaded you are much too severe in what you have printed concerning your brethren of the clergy in this

The conclusion is irresistibly forced upon us that his mission to America was more of an injury than of a benefit to the Colonial Church. Nor did this evil influence disappear at his death. In some parts of the country he had not a few imitators, "vagrant preachers" (laymen mostly), who succeeded in creating much excitement, especially in connection with the meetings which were held at night. The most astonishing effects are said to have been produced, such as screechings, faintings, convulsions, visions, apparent death for twenty or thirty hours, actual possessions with evil spirits, during which possession much property was destroyed.

The Rev. James McSparran, D.D., was a prominent divine at this period, labouring (1721-57) as a missionary of the S.P.G., in Bristol, R.I., and its neighbourhood. He soon became quite famous for his controversial writings, chief among which was a discourse on "The Sacred Dignity of the Priesthood." In an elaborate work, entitled "America Dissected," he sought to dissuade poor people from emigrating to America, because of bad climate, bad money, danger from enemies, pestilent heresies, &c.¹

nation, and therefore you may have been too severe in what you have written concerning those abroad, especially as I find that many accounts different from yours are sent to the Society, concerning their missionaries, by persons in all appearance deserving of credit."

¹ See p. 91.

CHAPTER V

VAIN EFFORTS TO OBTAIN THE EPISCOPATE

The need for the Episcopate—Attempts to obtain it, both in England and in America—Archbishop Laud—Queen Anne—Sees determined upon—Archbishop Tenison—The Rev. John Checkley—The Rev. Joseph Colbatch—Archbishop Secker—Prejudice in America against bishops—Baptists want them—Bishop Inglis—"The Case of the Episcopal Churches Considered"—Bishops Talbot and Welton.

THERE is nothing perhaps that shows more clearly the oversight of the Divine Head of the Church than the way in which she was preserved in America throughout the long and critical period of her entire lack of the Episcopate. Indeed, it deserves to rank amongst the most remarkable interpositions of Providence in the ecclesiastical history of any age. Never were members of any body more true to its organic principles. And this steadfastness was proved under very trying circumstances. For two hundred years, an infant Church was struggling for growth—at times even for existence—without being able to have recourse directly to some of the most essential sources of nourishment.

With diverse elements of English-speaking people to harmonise and direct, and with multitudes of heathen people to Christianise, the position of the Church

would appear to have called for her fullest equipment. Yet for nearly two centuries she was continuously without the means above all others which she required for her enlargement, completeness, and perpetuity.

It was not because her clergy and laity were not conscious of this great deficiency, nor that they were indifferent to the many disadvantages which it entailed upon her. There is abundant proof in her early history of their deep and constant concern on this account; and much sympathy was felt for them by members of the Church at home. It needed not that any should argue with them as to the utter inadequacy of the provision by which so distant and vast a territory was put under the charge of the Bishop of London.

It is not a matter of surprise that Archbishop Laud should be credited with a plan for planting the Episcopate here.¹ He is said to have been willing even to accomplish his designs by force of arms, if deemed necessary. The crisis brought on by the troubles arising at this time in Scotland—through which troubles largely he himself suffered imprisonment and martyrdom—was, of course, unfavourable for the scheme, and for a while it lay dead. Such Dissenters as ruled during the great rebellion would not favour its resurrection.

When Charles II. ascended the throne, the ecclesiastical needs of the colonists again occupied the

¹ Before 1638, he had appointed the Rev. William Morrell as a commissary to Plymouth.

thoughts of some who were about him. Lord Clarendon, the King's chief adviser, and the only courtier perhaps who, in his life, successfully resisted the demoralising influences then prevailing, was a zealous and uncompromising Churchman. It was he who prevailed upon the dissolute monarch to appoint a bishop for Virginia, who should also have jurisdiction over the other provinces. Dr. Alexander Murray was the person chosen for this office, and his patent was actually made out some time during the period (1667-72) in which Sir Orlando Bridgeman served as Lord Keeper. Murray's failure to obtain consecration was partly owing to delay arising from an investigation into unsustained allegations against his fitness, but chiefly (according to Archbishop Secker) to objections to a provision that the endowment of the Episcopate should come from the customs. At this juncture, there was a change in the ministry, and those who succeeded Clarendon were men either indifferent or inimical to the Church, and so once more the hopes of its earnest members were doomed to disappointment. The morality and religion of James II. were not of the kind to move him in their behalf.

A Dutch Presbyterian entered London as King of the realm and Defender of the Faith on the same day that James succeeded in escaping finally from England. The Church could not expect to gain much from such a change of rulers. William III. was opposed to Episcopacy at home. He was not likely to further any plans for its establishment abroad.

In the meantime, the majority of the Colonial Church-

men were becoming more and more impatient. The dawn of the eighteenth century seemed to bring with it a brighter prospect, as opening a new channel through which their longings might be fulfilled. Good Dr. Bray had succeeded (May 1701) in obtaining, through the aid of sympathising bishops, a Royal Charter for "The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts." Aside from his known sentiments, the very terms of the charter would seem to point out the Episcopate as one of the chief means by which the objects of the organisation could be most speedily accomplished. Accordingly, the clergy and laity began at once to send in fresh memorials on the subject to the officers of the Society. Among these were communications from Keith and Talbot, their first missionaries.¹ In 1703, they received from divers parts of the American continent and the adjacent islands an importunate request that they would send them a suffragan "to visit the several churches, ordain some, confirm others, and bless all." In 1705, a convocation, numbering fourteen clergymen, met at Burlington, New Jersey, and memorialised the Crown to the same effect. Many of the leading laymen afterwards joined in the request. One of their arguments was based upon their belief that, so soon as bishops

¹ The latter wrote, in 1702, "I don't doubt that some good man with one hundred pounds a year would do the Church more service than with a coach-and-six a hundred years hence." In a communication to the Secretary of the S.P.G. he said, "When Paul did only *dream* that a man wanted him in Macedonia, he went all so fast; but here we have been calling these so many years, and you will not hear, or will not answer, which is the same thing."

were secured, many Dissenting ministers would conform to the Church.

Queen Anne had been crowned, on the death of William, in just a twelvemonth after the incorporation of the Society. In dismissing the late King's Parliament, she uttered sentiments which her after reign proved to be more genuine than similar ones which had been proclaimed by some of her predecessors. "My own principles," she said, "must always keep me entirely firm to the Church of England, and will incline me to countenance those who have the truest zeal to support it." Many are the records of her interest in and bounty towards the Church. They were not confined to England. In the United States to-day, there are in use several sets of communion plate and bells which (with Bibles, Prayer-Books, and Homilies) were sent over as presents by her. In S. Anne's Church, Middletown, Delaware, there is preserved a piece of an old altar-cloth which contains, in handsome embroidery, the initials "A.R.," said to have been worked for that parish by the Queen herself. There are also some glebes which were obtained through her generosity.

Such a sovereign would be ready to hear with favour the appeals for the Episcopate which were coming under notice so frequently. In the year 1712, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel referred to a committee the question of procuring bishops for America, their proper places of residence, and the methods of securing the necessary funds for their support. The committee held frequent sessions, and

more than once pressed the matter upon the attention of the Crown. Their efforts in this direction were heartily seconded by Archbishop Secker. The Queen, who, in the previous year, had authorised a house-to-house collection for the Society, entered with real sympathy into its plans. It was resolved to found immediately four bishoprics—two for the continent of America, and two for the islands. A subscription list was opened, and liberal gifts were made and devised. The Queen encouraged a request which had been preferred for some confiscated lands in St. Kitt's, and during the same year Burlington House, in New Jersey, was actually purchased and prepared for an Episcopal residence.¹ Preparations were made to endow the bishoprics from lands ceded to the English by the Treaty of Utrecht. The Rev. Dr. McSparran² bequeathed, in 1753, a farm and a house as a residence for a bishop, with a proviso that at least three bishops

¹ As an illustration of the hearty manner in which the laymen of that day were ready to co-operate with such plans, the following extract may be given from a letter, addressed (March 25, 1714) to the S.P.G., by the churchwardens and others of S. Mary's Parish, Burlington: "We humbly pray that your endeavours may be used to hasten the sending a Bishop amongst us, the want of which on the continent and islands of America is such an instance as the Christian world, from the Apostles' days to this time, hath never produced the like; when so many thousand souls as the Northern Colonies alone have inhabiting them, and the greatest part of them professing themselves members of an Episcopal Church, have no Bishop residing amongst them to rule and govern them, it is no wonder if the members grow careless, remiss, and slack in their duty; if many fall into scandalous and damning errors; if Atheism, Deism, Quakerism, Freethinking, and other heresies increase amongst us; if scandals are both given and taken, when the ecclesiastical sword is wanting to punish evil-doers, to reduce the erroneous and cast off the heretics."

² See p. 85.

in direct succession should be born and educated in England.

Then came a fresh and grievous disappointment, by reason of the death of the royal benefactress. On the accession of George I., in 1715, the Propagation Society reiterated its request for bishops, and submitted anew the proposition to establish four Sees, two of which were to be in the Colonies—one at Burlington, New Jersey, and one at Williamsburg, Virginia. Provision was made to carry this design into effect, when political troubles again arose, and once more the hopes of American Churchmen were baffled.

It was at this same time that a bequest of £1000 became operative, which Archbishop Tenison had made to the Society towards the settlement of two bishops, one for the continent and the other for the isles of America. Later on, an unknown benefactor gave the Society £1000 for the same object, and others continued to send in smaller sums.

While negotiations were thus going on abroad for the establishment of the Episcopate, the Churchmen of the Colonies were still urging its claims at home. A very quaint and cogent letter on this subject was addressed to the Society, under date of September 18, 1707, by the Rev. Evan Evans,¹ who was for more than seven years one of its missionaries, in Philadelphia and elsewhere. Among the foremost of these advocates was John Checkley, of Boston. He encountered a good deal of infidelity, and, to counteract

¹ See p. 42.

its baneful influence, he republished, first in 1719 and then in 1723, Leslie's famous "Short and Easie Methods with the Deists." With it, he also printed a brave and trenchant "Discourse concerning Episcopacy," in which, with marked ability, he contended for its primitive and Apostolic institution, and urged that a non-Episcopal ministry was "not only invalid, but sacrilege and rebellion against Christ." Much angry discussion followed among the Puritans, who pronounced this assertion of the dogma of Apostolical Succession to be a "false and scandalous libel." Its author was at once proceeded against, although the Attorney-General was subsequently directed to try him only on those passages which were said to reflect upon the Government. At first, he was peremptorily denied a hearing and adjudged guilty. On his appeal to the Court of Assizes, he made an elaborate defence, in which he successfully refuted the charge of sedition, and renewed his arguments to prove the invalidity of non-Episcopal ordination. He was finally (in 1724) condemned by the judges, fined £50, imprisoned, and ordered to keep silence.¹

Pamphlets came fast and thick on both sides, and considerable ill-feeling was engendered in the controversy. Some of the Puritans, in its heat, threatened

¹ It is gratifying to know that this brave defender of the faith was able, after several years' waiting—during which time much ungenerous opposition to him was continued at home—to receive ordination, in the year 1739, from the hands of the Bishop of Exeter. He was also made an honorary Master of Arts by the University of Oxford, and, returning to America, was put in charge of the mission-work at Providence, Rhode Island, where he died, after a most faithful ministry of fourteen years.

that, in case of bishops arriving in the country, they would themselves help to throw them into the river. We shall see later on that the opposition of Dissenters became still more bitter and determined.

In a quieter part of the country, and one better disposed towards the Church, there was good ground about this same time for hope that at length a bishop would be obtained. The Bishop of London had (in 1727) requested the clergy of Maryland to nominate one of their number whom he might make his suffragan. They named the Rev. Joseph Colbatch, a man who was highly esteemed by the whole colony. The Bishop accordingly invited him to come to London for consecration; but no sooner was his purpose to leave for this object made public than the courts were asked to issue a writ of *Non exeat*. This was granted; Mr. Colbatch was forced to remain at home, and once more the efforts of Churchmen to obtain an Episcopate were frustrated.

In 1725, Samuel Johnson, Dr. Cutler, and others of the New England clergymen (some of whom were among the chief converts to the Church), petitioned the Propagation Society for bishops, citing, among other arguments, the large number of young men who were yearly lost to the Church and her ministry for want of proper persons to ordain them. In 1741, Secker, then Bishop of Oxford, preached before the same Society, and urged the duty of instantly supplying this need. Sherlock, Bishop of London, joined in a similar appeal. In 1750, he presented to the King in council a memorial entitled "Considerations

relating to Ecclesiastical Government in his Majesty's Dominions in America," in which, with force and moderation combined, he pleaded for some measure of relief from the manifest evils and perils that surrounded this lack of bishops. It was apparently of no avail. The Duke of Newcastle, either from political motives, which caused him to side with the Dissenters, or from indolence and inefficiency, seems at this time to have been largely responsible for the inaction of the King.

The Bishop of London, in a letter to the Rev. Philip Doddridge, D.D., the celebrated and amiable Nonconformist divine, alludes to the effort which he had made to have two or three bishops appointed, and calls attention to the fact that, while New England Dissenters were doing what they could to prevent such a scheme being effected, they were not at all averse to sending their own ministers to Virginia, where the public sentiment was so much against them. Dr. Doddridge, in a very courteous reply, candidly acknowledges the hardship to American Churchmen of doing without the Episcopate.

This same prelate felt so keenly the anomaly and the injustice done to the Church, that he declined to take a patent from the Crown as the bishop in charge of the Colonies, and merely agreed to act from time to time in what was necessary, until some better provision could be made. In 1752, he wrote as follows: "I think myself at present in a very bad situation. Bishop of a vast country, without power or influence, or any means of promoting true religion, sequestered

from the people over whom I have the care and must never hope to see, I should be tempted to throw off all this care quite, were it not for the sake of preserving even the appearance of an Episcopal Church in the Plantations."

Mention has already been made of the efforts of Samuel Johnson and others to obtain the Episcopate. He felt the necessity of it all the more bitterly when, in 1756, his own son, who had gone to England for orders, fell a victim there to the scourge of smallpox, which would seem to have fatally attacked quite a number of other young men who came from America. "I confess," he wrote, "I should scarce have thought my dear son's life ill bestowed (nor, I believe, would he) if it could have been the means of awakening this stupid age to a sense of the necessity of sending bishops. But, alas! what can be expected of such an age as this?"

Other parents had similar cause for unavailing sorrow, it being calculated that, during the forty years preceding 1766, one out of every five candidates for Holy Orders who crossed the ocean died in the journey from sickness or shipwreck. From what was thus ventured, it may be seen how strong were the convictions of some as to the necessity of being properly and validly ordained. For want of such ministers, the Church was the more glad to avail herself of the services of catechists and schoolmasters, many of whom were very zealous and efficient in their ecclesiastical work. It is no wonder, however, that many were deterred from incurring such risks, and

that not a few of the most promising young men on this same account entered the ministry of other religious bodies. In the course of one year there went out from one college twenty young graduates, nearly all of whom under favouring circumstances would, it was thought, have become clergymen in the Church.

It would seem that at times the Government at home were influenced in their failure to further the wishes of American Churchmen in this respect by a desire to retain the votes and influence of the Dissenters. It was largely, no doubt, in view of their hostility that Bishop Butler, soon after going (in 1750) to Durham, drew up a scheme for an American Episcopate which was well calculated, by its moderate and considerate (one might almost add, and timid) proposals, to disarm all reasonable opposition. It was comprised within these four conditions: (1) That no coercive power is desired over the Laity, but only the power to regulate the Clergy in Episcopal Orders; (2) nothing is desired for such bishops which would interfere with the temporal government; (3) the maintenance of the bishops is not to be charged on the Colonies; (4) it is intended to settle no bishops where the Government is in the hands of Dissenters, as in New England, &c., but only authority is to be given to ordain and confirm, and to inspect the Clergy for members of Church of England congregations. It may well be doubted whether such a mild programme, coming from so influential a quarter, was likely to strengthen the hands of the more loyal and enthusiastic Churchmen on either side of the Atlantic. There

can be, however, no question as to Butler's hearty desire for the establishment of the Episcopate, additional proof of which he gave in leaving a bequest of £500 to the fund already instituted for this purpose. A similar legacy was left in that same year (1752) by Dr. Benson, the Bishop of Gloucester.

The interest of Bishop Secker in the matter has already been noted. He had no sooner been advanced to the Primacy in 1758 than he manifested it anew, and with so much vigour that he brought upon himself and upon the S.P.G., the ire of American Dissenters. Jonathan Mayhew, a Congregational minister of Boston, took a leading part in the controversy. His pamphlet—partly, also, a rejoinder to one in favour of Episcopacy written by the Rev. East Apthorp, missionary at Cambridge—was published in 1763. It was answered anonymously in the following year by Archbishop Secker, who exhibited a spirit strongly in contrast with that of his libeller. The Archbishop wrote in 1764 to Dr. Johnson of New York: "The affair of American Bishops continues in suspense. Lord Willoughby of Parham, the only English dissenting Peer, and Dr. Chandler, have declared, after our scheme was fully laid before them, that they saw no objection against it. The Duke of Bedford, Lord President, hath given a calm and favourable hearing to it, hath desired it may be reduced to writing, and promised to consult about it with the other ministers at his first leisure." This leisure apparently never came, although the Archbishop said the King had frequently expressed himself in favour of Episcopacy.

In May 1766, the clergy of the Province of New York and some from Connecticut met in New York, and once more as a body appealed to the S.P.G. for bishops.

In the meanwhile, as already intimated, the opposition to their introduction became among the Dissenters more and more bitter, and this attitude of theirs towards the question continued to have its influence against the project with the British Government. As an example of the dread of bishops which prevailed among the common people, it is related by Bishop Griswold that a neighbour of his, who was born in 1745, told him that when a child he was regularly taught that if bishops should come into America they would take from the people a tenth of everything, children not excepted. As he happened to be the tenth child of his parents, he ardently expressed the desire that in case a bishop were unfortunately permitted to land, he himself might immediately die.

There is also a well-authenticated account given by the same authority of a very intelligent and pious young man who, while reading a newspaper, suddenly dropped it, and, turning to a friend of his who had just come into his breakfast-room, said, with much tremor and emphasis, "Then, M——, I am a dead man." In surprise, his friend asked him what he meant. "Read that article," he replied, picking up the paper which he had dropped. It contained an extract from an English journal with what afterwards proved to be an unfounded announcement to this effect: "On —— day of the month will sail from this port, in his

Majesty's ship ——, the Rev. Dr. ——, who is expected to go out as the first Bishop of New England." "Why, my friend," said the visitor, "I see in this no reason for your exclamation." "No reason?" was the answer. "Why, I tell you, M——, if this news proves true, the moment Dr. —— sets his foot on Long Wharf, Boston, as Bishop of New England, I will shoot him. And the next moment I will surrender myself into the hands of justice, with the certainty of being hanged. But I shall feel that I am doing God service."¹

Occasionally Dissenters were found who took a much more charitable view of the matter. In Pennsylvania, both Quakers and Presbyterians were, in their enmity towards each other, inclined to favour the schemes of Churchmen in this direction. Mr. Barton, a missionary of the S.P.G. in Pennsylvania, writes to its secretary under date of November 16, 1774:—"Many of the principal Quakers wish for it in hopes it might be a check to the growth of Presbyterianism, which they dread; and the Presbyterians, on the other hand, would not choose to murmur at a time when they are obliged to keep fair with the Church, whose assistance they want against the combination of the Quakers, who would willingly crush them."

The Rev. Hugh Neill, another Pennsylvania missionary, writes a little later: "The Dissenters very

¹ When the news of Seabury's consecration reached Boston, one of its journals—the *Gazette*—published the following:—"Two wonders of the world, a Stamp Act in Boston and a Bishop in Connecticut!"

well know that the sending of a bishop to America would contribute more to the increase of the Church here than all the money that has been raised by the venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Alas! we see and feel the power of our enemies and weakness of our friends, and can only mourn in secret and pray for better times. The Rev. Dr. Allison, Vice-Provost of the College of Philadelphia, and who is at the head of the Presbyterians in this province, assured me the other day in a conversation on this subject, that they had no objection to what he called primitive Episcopacy, *i.e.*, Episcopacy without any civil power annexed to it, as he explained himself, and that he would be well contented if there was a bishop of this sort in every province in America." The Baptists in America early confessed their want of some head, and in one of their associations in Virginia (1774) resolved that apostles were officers that still belonged to the Church of Christ. They afterwards proceeded to elect three of their number to this office, and set them apart for it by the laying on of hands. It was not long, however, before this provision fell into disuse.

This friendliness towards Episcopacy on the part of Dissenters may be taken as some sort of compensation for not only the apathy—an apathy born partly of delays and disappointments—but even in some instances the opposition of Churchmen themselves. Their attitude, amid the general anxiety for bishops among their fellow-Churchmen, is not to be wholly ignored. To it may be partly ascribed—in a small

degree, perhaps, yet in an appreciable one—the long delay in the matter which we are now discussing. For instance, in 1771, when the clergy of Virginia numbered one hundred, only twelve were present at a convention that petitioned the S.P.G. for bishops, and out of this number there were four who protested against any such application being made. These protestants appear to have belonged to the same class with others who dreaded the coming of bishops, lest their own lax and immoral lives should be inquired into and dealt with authoritatively.

Other some there were, both among the clergy and laity, who fancied that their prerogatives and influence would be abridged, and others still who honestly feared that political complications might arise, and that, by fomenting dissatisfaction among the Dissenters, the union between England and her colonies might be endangered. Then, again, not a few colonists, who had already decided in their own minds in favour of national independence, looked upon the introduction of the Episcopate as an instrument whereby the coming of this independence would be indefinitely delayed. Of recent years it has frequently been argued that had bishops been granted in an earlier period of their history, the revolt of the Colonies might have been postponed, if not averted, or at least a peaceable separation would have been effected.¹ In a letter

¹ In a letter, dated Lancaster, Pennsylvania, December 17, 1770, the Rev. Thomas Barton writes to the Secretary of the S.P.G. : "If there is any *public* virtue left, as I am sure there is, the advancement of the Church of England in America should become a *national* concern. This Church has ever been considered as the *head* of the *Protestant interest*,

addressed to the Secretary of the S.P.G. in 1708, Colonel Robert Quarry urges the sending of a bishop to America, and says: "Nothing else will do, for every young clergyman thinks he knows more than the Right Revd. the Bishops, and do assume more power to themselves."

Financial considerations also entered largely into the views on this subject which some Churchmen held who only knew the Episcopate by what they had seen or heard of it as it then existed in England. These apprehended that its establishment in America would entail upon them and others an expense, and perhaps pomp, which they could not loyally bear. Some designing politicians further represented that the taxation of the Colonies and the proposed Episcopate were but parts of the one policy whereby the civil and religious liberty of America was to be annihilated.

Among those who were most interested in the plans for securing bishops for America was the Rev. Charles Inglis, some time (1759-65) the Society's missionary at Dover, Delaware, subsequently rector of Trinity Church, New York, and finally (1787) the first Bishop of Nova Scotia.¹ In a letter under date of New York,

and the centre of *Protestant unity*, and therefore ought to be promoted here from motives of *policy* as well as of religion. It requires not the sagacity of a politician, if he is but acquainted with the temper and disposition of people *here*, to foresee that the more the Church of England in the Colonies is neglected, the less hold will the parent kingdom have of them. God grant that those at the helm may see these things in their right light!"

¹ His reply to Paine's "Common Sense" so excited the ire of the "Sons of Liberty" that they publicly burned it. He refused Washington's request that he should omit the Prayers for the King and Royal Family, and remained a Loyalist to the end.

October 22, 1783, addressed to the Rev. Dr. William White, of Philadelphia, he declares his firm belief in the statement contained in the Preface to the Ordinal, and that "for 1500 years after our Saviour's time there was no regular ordination or ecclesiastical government but what was of the Episcopal kind." He also quotes from a plan for an American Episcopate, which he had drawn up several years before, and had submitted to a number of persons in England and America, by whom it had been approved. In it care was taken that the duties and prerogatives of the bishops should be wholly ecclesiastical and spiritual.

The first Bishop of Pennsylvania (the Right Rev. Dr. White), in alluding to a period a few years before the War of the Revolution, when a fresh appeal¹ was made to the public in favour of the Episcopate by the Rev. Dr. Chandler (see p. 48) of Elizabeth Town, New Jersey, gives it as his own opinion, based upon what as a youth he then heard and observed, that it would have been impossible to obtain the concurrence of a respectable number of laymen in any measure for the obtaining of an American bishop.² As one proof of their opposition to such a measure, it may be mentioned that when the four clergymen in Virginia made the protest already noted (page 102), the House

¹ One answer to this appeal was an offer from Sir William Johnson of 20,000 acres of excellent land towards the support of an American Episcopate. Dr. Chauncey, a celebrated Congregationalist divine, answered the argument of Dr. Chandler, who in turn replied with great force.

² *Memoirs*, p. 69.

of Burgesses formally thanked them for their conduct in this respect. Fifteen years later, one of these burgesses, Richard Henry Lee,¹ furnished, as President of Congress, a letter to Drs. Provoost and White when they went to London for consecration as bishops, in which he certified that their errand was quite consistent with the civil relations of the new Republic.

Dr. White himself, when rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia, was at one time so alarmed at the gradual diminution in numbers of the ministry, and so disheartened at the prospect of obtaining bishops, that he advocated the employment of other means for supplying the demand for clergymen. His views were fully set forth in a pamphlet, published in August 1782, entitled, "The Case of the Episcopal Churches Considered." Among other proposals that it contained—many of which were afterwards embodied in the Constitution and Canons of the Church—was one providing for permanent superintending ministers, with powers similar to those of bishops. He stipulated that before such ministers were chosen there should be in the proposed frame of Church government "a general approbation of Episcopacy, and a declaration of an intention to procure the succession as soon as conveniently may be;" and when "the Episcopal succession" was "afterwards obtained, any supposed imperfections of the intermediate ordinations might, if

¹ One of the most famous orators of his day. While Patrick Henry was styled the Demosthenes, Lee was considered the Cicero of America.

it were judged proper, be supplied without acknowledging their nullity by a conditional ordination."

His sentiments on Episcopacy were, it may be, open to the criticisms of those who looked with alarm upon the encouragement which anti-Episcopalians had gathered from them. But, while justifying his proposals as expedients to meet the exigency which existed, he none the less emphatically declared in regard to Episcopacy that "it should be sustained, as the government of the Church from the time of the Apostles." When peace was concluded, and the independence of the United States acknowledged, the temporary plan which he had suggested was immediately relinquished by the author himself.

To this narrative of the attempts to obtain the Episcopate in a legitimate way, may be added some reference to the alleged consecration of Talbot and Welton, and their discharge in America of Episcopal duties. The former had been, as we have already seen, very earnest in appealing to the Mother Church for bishops.¹ Yet, with all his anxiety on this score, it is difficult to believe that such a Churchman as he unquestionably was, would seek surreptitiously to supply the wants which he recognised.

There seems, however, but little room for doubting that he was consecrated bishop during one of his visits to England, and there is no more room for doubting that he was in this matter prompted by a sincere desire for the spiritual welfare of the Colonies, hoping that a favourable opportunity would arise, when he

¹ See p. 89.

might publicly exercise his episcopal office. On March 22, 1720-1, Bishops Spinckes, Hawes, and Gandy, three nonjuring bishops, consecrated Ralph Taylor, who in turn alone consecrated (in 1722) Robert Welton, rector of Whitechapel, London. These two in the same year are said to have consecrated John Talbot.¹ None of these last three were recognised as bishops *de jure*, even by the nonjurors.

Welton came to America, and was rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia, from July 1724 until January 1726. He became very popular, but when it was rumoured that he was a nonjuring bishop, he was ordered by the King to return forthwith to England. He set sail for Lisbon, where he died of a dropsy, refusing to commune with the English clergyman,—most probably for political reasons. In a letter, dated in that city, August 31, 1726, N.S., it is reported that there was found among his effects an episcopal ring which he had used in Pennsylvania, where, it is further declared, he had privily exercised the office of bishop.

Talbot returned to Burlington, and resumed the active discharge of his duties, for which he was already famous throughout the Colonies, reading, as he himself reports, "the prayers of the Church, in the church decently, according to the Order of Morning and Evening Prayer, daily throughout the year, and that is more than is done in any church that

¹ See Percival's "Apology for the Apostolical Succession," pp. 222-6; Hills's "History of St. Mary's Church, Burlington, N.J.," p. 168; and Hugh Davey Evans's "Essay on the Episcopate," p. 323.

I know, *apud Americanos*.”¹ He is said to have occasionally assumed the episcopal dress, and to have administered confirmation privately. The Rev. Dr. Hawks, in his “History of the Church in Maryland” (p. 185), relates, on the authority of Bishop White, a story which was generally believed in his day, to the effect that Talbot and Welton united in ordaining a Congregational minister who had conformed to the Church. Certain it is that in making her will, Mrs. Talbot used a seal upon which were engraved a mitre and a plain cross, and having, in large letters intertwining one another, the full name of the rector, J. Talbot.²

The Rev. Jacob Henderson, in a letter to the Bishop of London, dated August 16, 1724, writes: “Mr. Talbot, minister of Burlington, returned from England about two years ago in Episcopal orders, though his orders till now of late have been kept as a great secret, and Dr. Welton is arrived there about six weeks ago, as I’m credibly informed, in the same capacity, and the people of Philadelphia are so fond of him that they will have him, right or wrong, for their minister. I am much afraid these gentlemen will poison the people of that province. I cannot see what can prevent it but the speedy arrival of a bishop there, one of the same order, to confront them, for the people will rather take confirmation from them than have none at all,

¹ It is very pleasant to note that this pious custom is still maintained in this venerable parish.

² Hills’s “History of St. Mary’s Church, Burlington,” p. 248.

and by that means they'll hook them into the schism."¹

He was accused to the Society of being a Jacobite, and, apparently from his own letter to the Bishop of London, "of exercising Acts of Jurisdiction" over his brethren, the missionaries, &c. This accusation he denies, and asserts that he can disprove it by a thousand witnesses. He, however, was ordered, through the Governor, to "surcease officiating," and obeyed. A memorial in his favour, signed by many influential laymen belonging to various parishes, declared that he was, "by his exemplary life and ministry, the greatest advocate for the Church of England, by law established, that ever appeared on this shore." He died on S. Andrew's Day, 1727, and was buried in the churchyard at Burlington, where his memory is still affectionately cherished.

As illustrative of the general condition at this period of affairs, ecclesiastical and personal, some extracts are given from a letter of the Rev. Alexander Murray to the Secretary of the S.P.G., dated Reading, Pennsylvania, January 25, 1764.

"The number of Papists in this county I have not got a more particular account of yet than what I sent you in my last, nor that of Dissenters, of which we have some of every name. But the state of their several congregations is rather too evident from their scandalous differences and animosities, each within itself as well as with one another. The people are ever and anon quarrelling with their preachers, whom,

¹ Hills's "History of St. Mary's Church, Burlington," p. 188.

of humour and caprice, they change much oftener than they renew their clothes, so that it is a great deal if they are not all by the ears in a twelvemonth. They are supported by annual contributions, which are made good the first year; then they are wearied, and both parties find it convenient to part, the minister to find a fresh subsistence, and the people to get a new one in his place, no matter whether better or worse, so be their itch after novelty is gratified. In this perpetual round of changes and contentions, they sometimes move with a seeming gravity, as they do at others, with all the party rage and violence of men out of their senses, ending in provoking libels and lampoons and in batteries and bloodshed, 'twixt pastor and people, as here of late; which forms the most hideous and pitiable contrast imaginable, and has too manifest a tendency to expose the ministerial character to such obloquy and contempt, without distinction, as I could hardly have thought it could be loaded with in any Christian country as I observe it generally is here. In the short time I have been here, the Baptists, Lutherans, and Calvinists (the most numerous sects in this town and country adjacent) have changed their ministers, and are still unprovided as they have been for some months past. In the midst of these convulsions and wildfire, I leave you to judge what state of mind I must necessarily be in; not knowing often what course to steer that, if possible, I may give no offence: and hitherto I have been abundantly happy to preserve the favour of my own people, and have no share in the quarrels of others. A minister here must

double his guard, and deny himself many of the innocent comforts and liberties of life, and undergo as many of its inconveniences, toils, and troubles, if ever he would succeed in his work, particularly in the frontier Missions, as of Berks, Lancaster, York, and Cumberland, an extent of above 150 miles, and where there are but three missionaries only, Messrs. Barton and Thomson and myself, who are obliged to itinerate to our different congregations, which are distant 30, 20, 18, 15 miles from our respective places of residence, and that in the severest seasons of extreme heat and cold, and to be from home for weeks together, and at the year's end scarce receive so much as would satisfy an ordinary mechanic. So that I am often surprised how such of my brethren subsist who have large families, as Mr. Barton, whose singular merit, I humbly think, deserves the notice of the venerable Society. I am still a single man, and it will be prudent for me to continue such in my present circumstances. In time of war our situation is deplorable enough. Mr. Thomson, who had retired to a plantation to retrench the expenses of living, was drove off by the Indians, and obliged to abandon his all and take shelter with his family in another man's house in Carlisle.

“Many of the Dissenting clergy, without any assistance from the mother country, are upon a better footing than those of the National Church, for while the latter, in obedience to the canons, choose rather to suffer many hardships than engage in secular employments, the former, besides the stipends they

receive from their numerous congregations, are indiscriminately concerned in every branch of trade, and hold civil and military offices, and such of them as are not employed in this way are reduced to that state of dependence and contempt I have mentioned before of the three sects I took notice of in the former part of my letter."

CHAPTER VI

BISHOP SEABURY'S CONSECRATION

His earlier life—His connection with public affairs—Elected Bishop—The Rev. Dr. Leaming—Seabury goes to London—Ineffectual attempts to obtain consecration there—Reasons for this—He goes to Scotland—Consecrated at Aberdeen—The “Concordate”—Returns to America—His Episcopal lineage.

WE have already seen how long and how earnestly efforts were made to obtain a supply of bishops for America. We have also seen how many obstacles and discouragements were encountered by those who engaged in these efforts. Notice has been taken of the reputed consecration of Talbot and Welton, which, if it did occur, was clandestinely performed. We have now to deal with the first recognised Bishop, whose honoured name stands at the head of a list which, in a little more than a century, has grown so rapidly that now (December 1894) it numbers 174.

The story of the consecration of Bishop Seabury has about it, for ecclesiastical students, the excitement of a romance. Very few single events in Church history are associated with so many incidents of real and abiding interest. Whether we consider the anomalous and perilous condition at that time of the Church in America, his long and trying waiting upon

the authorities of the Church in England, his final recourse to the Scotch bishops, or his own personality and career, there is in the abundance and variety of matter the groundwork of a tale which, in the hands of a master, would easily rank with the most renowned work of fiction. We shall attempt only a simple account of what appear to be the most important facts in connection with the consummation of earnest hopes that had been uninterruptedly entertained in the breasts of all loyal American Churchmen for nearly two hundred years.

Samuel Seabury, the father of the chief participant in these scenes, was a Congregational minister, settled at Groton, Connecticut, where the Church had not as yet been established. His wife was a Churchwoman, and their marriage occurred at a time when the claims of Episcopacy were generally and warmly discussed by the leading men of the day. Early in the year 1730 he conformed to the Church, and in the ensuing summer was ordained deacon and priest by the Bishop of London. So that the first training young Seabury had (he was born in Groton on S. Andrew's Day, 1729), was within the fold of the Church which he afterwards so faithfully served. He early dedicated himself to the ministry, and served nearly four years as a catechist. Thinking that a course of study in medicine would be useful to him in his ministerial work, he devoted to it the period necessarily intervening before he would be old enough to be admitted a candidate for holy orders. He attended the University of Edinburgh, and an interesting account is

preserved of his first acquaintance in that city with the Church from which he was afterwards to receive his Episcopal orders.

Having reached the prescribed age of twenty-four years, he was ordained deacon by the Bishop of Lincoln, acting for the Bishop of London, on S. Thomas's Day, 1753, and two days later he was ordained priest by the Bishop of Carlisle. He returned to America in the latter part of May 1754, and commenced his ministry at New Brunswick, New Jersey. In 1757 he removed to Jamaica, Long Island, and again in 1766 to West Chester, New York, of which latter parish he remained rector until the autumn of 1775, when, because of political troubles, he was obliged to intermit his services. During a part of the War of the Revolution he resided with his family in the city of New York, returning as he had opportunity to West Chester, and officiating there and elsewhere as he could. For a while he was compelled, by the necessities of his family, to resume the practice of medicine. In June 1777, Sir William Howe appointed him chaplain of the Provincial Hospital at New York, and in the following January chaplain to the King's American Regiment. It was while still holding these offices that he was elected Bishop of Connecticut.

Seabury's connection with public affairs was so prominent and influential, that it ought not to be wholly left out of this brief biography. It also had its bearing upon subsequent ecclesiastical events. His case was similar to that of many other clergymen of his day, who, in resisting the efforts at indepen-

dence made by the colonists, discharged, without fear or favour, what they conscientiously believed was their duty to their superiors both in Church and State. His talents and acquirements, joined to his strong will and upright character, gave to his advocacy of the Loyalists' cause a power which was recognised by friend and foe alike. In periodical papers and essays he entered vigorously into the contest, and supplemented these arguments with personal appeals to members of the Colonial Assembly of New York. In conjunction with Drs. Chandler and Inglis, he agreed to watch and answer such publications as in their judgment had a tendency to subvert the authority of the King.¹

Space is wanting to narrate the indignities and sufferings, including imprisonment and exile, to which he was subjected by reason of his political sentiments. Suffice it to say, that no amount of distress or privation served to alter his convictions or conduct. Yet when peace was finally declared, no one was more pronounced and sincere in his loyalty to the newly made Government. This may be seen from such utterances as those which are contained in his letter to Governor Samuel Huntington of Connecticut.

It was not long after this happy event that he became the central figure in a most important ecclesiastical gathering. The articles of peace took effect on January 20, 1783, and were received at New York in the following March. At that time the whole number

¹ See "The Life and Epoch of Alexander Hamilton," by the Hon. George Shea, pp. 293-301.

of clergymen in Connecticut was fourteen.¹ Of these, ten assembled on the Feast of the Annunciation (March 25) in the village of Woodbury, to take counsel together as to the mission of the Church under the changed circumstances of the times. The meeting was held in the house of the Rev. John Rutgers Marshall, a missionary of the S.P.G., and rector of the parish.² The proceedings were in secret, and no layman was admitted. The most important matter discussed was the necessity of bishops, and the best means of supplying this want. All the more urgency was felt as belonging to it because of the publication of the Rev. Dr. White's scheme, of which an account has already been given,³ and to which, in a letter addressed to him, the clergy assembled at Woodbury made a very cogent reply. The disturbed condition of the country, and the fact that most of the clergy in the several colonies were refugees, seemed to preclude those in Connecticut from any joint convention, and yet by their residence within civil limits already determined as marking a sovereign state, they felt themselves quite at liberty to proceed upon their own responsibility. It is of interest and importance to note that upon this independent action on their part was based the subsequent action of Churchmen in other states when the period for elections to the Episcopate arrived.

Two names chiefly appear to have occurred to the

¹ "Life and Correspondence of Samuel Seabury, D.D.," by the Rev. E. Edwards Beardsley, D.D., LL.D., p. 77.

² This residence is now the property of the Bishop of the diocese and reserved for ecclesiastical purposes.

³ See pp. 105, 106.

clergy at Woodbury in connection with the Episcopate, those of the Rev. Jeremiah Leaming, D.D., and the Rev. Samuel Seabury, D.D.¹ Both of the candidates were at the time in New York. Dr. Leaming was in every respect, save one, eminently qualified for the office. By his character, his scholarship, and his devotion to the Church, he had won the confidence and regard of all who knew him. One of his contemporaries said of him, "He is indeed a tried servant of the Church, and carries about him in a degree the marks of a confessor," alluding, no doubt, to what he had endured on account of his political loyalty. But his age and bodily infirmities would have seriously interfered with his discharge of the onerous duties of the Episcopate. Therefore it would seem but natural that his brethren should all the more turn eventually to the younger and stronger priest, whose only impediment to election was the fact of his being a refugee, and thus not *persona grata* with the civil authorities, whose co-operation it was desirable to secure.

Whether or not Leaming's name was formally proposed at the meeting and his nomination acted upon is not clearly known, for no official records of the transaction were preserved. It would appear more probable that he had previously declined the contemplated election, for the reason already assigned. So that we may conclude that on the first and only formal ballot Dr. Seabury was chosen Bishop of Connecticut.²

¹ This degree had been conferred on him by the University of Oxford in 1777.

² See letters bearing on this subject from the Rev. Dr. Fogg to the Rev. Samuel Parker, in Appendix A.

This supposition is supported by the statements made in one of Dr. Seabury's letters, viz., the one addressed to the Secretary of the S.P.G., written in London after his consecration, in which he gives a succinct account of the events in connection with his election, and states the conviction of Mr. Jarvis and others of the clergy that if he declined to go to England the whole matter should be allowed to drop.¹

As soon as possible after the election, the clergy of Connecticut addressed, by the hand of the Secretary, the Rev. Abraham Jarvis, memorials to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York,² stating most clearly and forcibly the circumstances and necessities of the case, and urging the immediate consecration of Dr. Seabury. In addition to this memorial, letters were written to the same dignitaries by the Rev. Dr. Leaming, the Rev. Dr. Inglis, then rector of Trinity Church, New York, the Rev. Benjamin Moore, D.D., assistant minister in the same parish, and others. In one of these communications, mention was made of the fact that the Rev. Dr. Thomas B. Chandler had been recommended as Bishop of Nova Scotia, and that Sir Guy Carleton, the commander-in-chief of the British forces, had given to the whole scheme his entire approbation.

Fortified with these letters and with other testimonials, Seabury sailed for England in Admiral Digby's flag-ship. He arrived in London on July 7,

¹ See "Beardsley's Life," p. 172.

² The Archbishop of York was memorialised because of the recent death of the Archbishop of Canterbury. By the time of Dr. Seabury's arrival in London, this latter See was again filled.

and at once set about the accomplishment of his mission by interviews with the Archbishops of Canterbury¹ and York² and the Bishop of London.³ Two letters of his to the clergy of Connecticut will best describe some of the difficulties and discouragements which he encountered. They will be found in Appendix B. A third letter, addressed to Dr. Leaming, goes more into detail concerning some of these difficulties. (See Appendix B.)

It was not necessary to persuade the English prelates of the serious damage done the Church in America by its lack of bishops. Nor was there any doubt in their minds as to the character and attainments of the Bishop-elect. As will be seen from the letters referred to already, various impersonal matters entered into the delay that ensued. Among these was the oath of allegiance to the sovereign, which he could not conscientiously take, and which, it was thought, could not well be omitted; although it was understood that a majority of the judges and Crown lawyers were of the opinion that the Archbishop might safely proceed. Neither could an enabling Act be introduced without exciting the displeasure of many in the newly formed

¹ The Most Rev. John Moore, D.D.

² The Most Rev. Dr. Markham.

³ In his "History of the American Church" (p. 198), Bishop Wilberforce states that Dr. Seabury made his application in the beginning "to the Archbishop of York, the See of Canterbury being vacant." But in his letters to the clergy of Connecticut, one dated July 15, 1783, eight days after his arrival from New York, and the other August 10, 1783, Dr. Seabury refers to conversations with the Archbishop of Canterbury, which he had before seeing the Archbishop of York, who was not in town when he himself arrived there. See Appendix B.

Republic. There was also an apprehension lest, without some definite guarantees of financial support, the office of a bishop might fall into contempt. Further, it was desired that there should be secured beforehand some assurance of consent on the part of the civil government in Connecticut. The English Ministry were indisposed to promote any measures which might not further their own party interests. They, in fact, refused to favour any Episcopal consecration without the formal request, or at least consent, of the American Congress. There thus seems little reason for doubting that political reasons were now the chief hindrance in the way.¹

Seabury had patiently awaited for more than a year a satisfactory termination of his negotiations. During all this time, he had strictly adhered to the Catholic principles with which he had set out on his mission, but he stood ready to avail himself of any favouring circumstances which would not call for any sacrifice of those principles. In a letter to Mr. Jarvis, under date of May 27, 1784, he says: "Believe me, there is nothing that is not base that I would not do, nor any risk that I would not run, nor any inconvenience to

¹ On November 14, 1884, a special service was held in S. Paul's Cathedral, London, in commemoration of the centenary of Seabury's consecration, the sermon being preached by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Canon Liddon wrote of it as an occasion "for serious thankfulness to God." The Dean (Dr. Church) described the sermon as "a reparation for the weakness and stagnancy of 1784." See Judge Shea's "Seabury Commemoration." Previously, in Scotland, during the month of October 1884, there had been a series of most interesting and impressive services and gatherings commemorative of the same event, an account of which may be found in sundry publications.

myself that I would not encounter, to carry this business into effect. And I assure you, if I do not succeed, it shall not be my fault."¹

In this spirit of loyalty, and yet with this same chastened impatience, he determined to carry out the instructions which he originally received from his electors, viz., to apply to the Scotch bishops for consecration. Emphasis should be laid upon the fact of such instructions, inasmuch as it is often asserted that his going to Scotland was an afterthought of his own, or a suggestion of some one whom he met in England,² instead of its being the alternative originally agreed upon by the Connecticut clergy. Before any formal application had been made to them, the Scotch prelates had been consulted, and had expressed their readiness to act. Without, however, committing himself to them positively, Dr. Seabury deemed it best to refer the matter once more to the clergy of Connecticut, which he did through letters addressed to Dr. Leaming. Not

¹ Dr. Horne, then Dean of Canterbury, wrote to him, January 3, 1785: "You do me but justice in supposing me a hearty friend to the American Episcopacy. I am truly sorry that our Cabinet here would not save you the trouble of going to Scotland for it. There is some uneasiness, I find, about it since it is done. It is said you have been precipitate. I should be inclined to think so too, had any hopes been left of obtaining consecration from England. But if none were left, what could you do but what you have done?"

² See last paragraph in the first letter of the Rev. Dr. Fogg in Appendix A. See also footnote on p. 132 of Dr. Beardsley's "Life and Correspondence of Samuel Seabury." Neither does there seem to be any evidence for the opinion entertained by some (e.g., by a writer in the *London Quarterly Review*, July 1878) that Dr. Seabury had ever seriously entertained the idea of applying to the Church in Denmark, although that Church had in a kindly spirit offered to ordain clergymen for America.

hearing from them to the contrary, he proceeded to petition the Scotch bishops, in a letter to the Rev. Dr. Myles Cooper, who at one time ministered in America, but had gone, because of political complications, to Scotland.

He was not alone in his petition. Two years before, and therefore prior to Dr. Seabury's election, the Rev. Dr. George Berkeley (who inherited an interest in the American Church from his father, the celebrated Bishop of Cloyne) had begun a correspondence with the Rev. John (afterwards Bishop) Skinner, of Aberdeen, in which he urged that the Episcopate should be given by "the bishops of the Church in Scotland" to "the suffering and nearly neglected sons of Protestant Episcopacy on the other side of the Atlantic." While other clergymen co-operated in the matter, the larger share of the influence brought to bear upon those thus addressed must be attributed, and gratefully, to Dr. Berkeley, who pursued the business with much zeal and perseverance. Dr. Routh, the President of Magdalen College, Oxford, was also very much interested in the matter. The Archbishop of Canterbury was informed of these negotiations, and nothing was heard from him in disapproval of them.

The Scotch bishops lost no time in signifying their readiness to proceed, and accordingly, on Sunday, November 14, 1784, Dr. Seabury was consecrated at Aberdeen, in the chapel belonging to Bishop Skinner.¹ The prelates officiating were Robert Kilgour, Bishop

¹ No part of this edifice is now remaining, although its site—in Long Acre Street—can easily be identified.

of Aberdeen, and Primus; Arthur Petrie, Bishop of Moray and Ross, and John Skinner, Coadjutor-Bishop of Aberdeen. Mr. (afterwards Bishop) Jolly witnessed the service, held the book for the officiating bishops, and was the first to receive the newly made prelate's benediction.

Although the penal laws proscribing within very narrow limits the worship conducted by the nonjuring bishops and their clergy were still on the statute-book, they were not now rigorously enforced. There was, therefore, no attempt to conduct the service secretly. It was attended, as we learn from the "Minute-Book of the College of Bishops in Scotland," by "a considerable number of respectable clergymen and a great number of laity, on which occasion all testified great satisfaction." The sermon preached on the occasion by Bishop Skinner was promptly printed and widely circulated.

On the day following the consecration, the Scotch Bishops and the newly made American Bishop agreed upon a Concordate, which will be found in full in Appendix C.¹ Its most important provision was to the effect that Bishop Seabury would, if he found it "agreeable to the genuine Standards of Antiquity," endeavour to introduce into America the Eucharistic Service as used by the Church of Scotland. He entered into no political engagements in Scotland, nor were any ever

¹ Autotype copies of the Concordate, of Bishop Seabury's Letters of Consecration, and of other documents relating to him, have been made at the instance and charges of the Hon. George Shea, and may be seen in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, in the Library of the General Theological Seminary, New York, and of Trinity College, Hartford.

proposed to him. While it was natural, and according to his promise, that an intimate communion should be cultivated between that Church and the American Church, Bishop Seabury had in no wise lost his veneration for and attachment to the Church of England. In a letter addressed to the Rev. Jonathan Boucher, dated Edinburgh, December 3, 1784, he says : "My own inclination is to cultivate as close a connection and union with the Church of England as that Church and the political state of the two countries shall permit."

Bishop Seabury made haste to return to America, but was obliged to await the sailing of a good ship. In the meantime, he went to London, from which city he addressed a communication to some of the Connecticut clergymen, acquainting them with the main facts in connection with his consecration. In it he informs them that the two Archbishops are said to have been displeased with the course he pursued. Dissatisfaction in regard to it was also shown by one who was afterwards very zealous and friendly in his efforts to obtain the consecration of Drs. White and Provoost by the English bishops. This was Granville Sharp, whose chief objection to Bishop Seabury's consecration arose from the fact of its having been performed by nonjuring bishops, from whom he differed strenuously in politics.¹ In acknow-

¹ The unfavourable representation of Bishop Seabury's character as contained in Prince Hoare's "Life of Granville Sharpe," is shown, by Bishop White's Memoirs, to have been based on an entire misunderstanding on the part of Mr. Sharpe.

ledging the receipt of the letter already referred to as having been written by Bishop Seabury to the Secretary of the S.P.G., the latter addressed him as "The Rev. Dr. Seabury," refusing to recognise his official character.

It was not until June 20, 1785, that he reached Newport, Rhode Island. His sermon on the following Sunday was preached (in the same pulpit where Bishop Berkeley discoursed of the planting of the Church) from the text Hebrews xii. 1, 2. One can easily imagine the feelings of responsibility, and yet of thankfulness, as he realised the opening, under the gaze of "so great a cloud of witnesses," of the new era of Church life in America.

His subsequent career belongs to the general history of the Church. The present chapter is intended to cover only the steps leading up to and including his consecration, as to which one closing remark may be made. While objection was taken to the consecration as the act of nonjuring bishops, and because it occurred in Scotland, it may be well to remember that, although such was the character of the act, the Bishop of Connecticut "traced his episcopal lineage through the same English bishops from whom were derived the orders of those who afterwards consecrated bishops for Pennsylvania, New York, and Virginia."¹ James VI. of Scotland, after his accession to the throne of England, summoned to London the titular bishops (*i.e.*, unconsecrated superintendents), and provided for

¹ See "The Union of Divergent Lines in the American Succession," by the Rev. Wm. J. Seabury, D.D., p. 10.

their consecration by English bishops. At the restoration of Charles II. there was left but one representative of this line, and he was superannuated. But in 1661, four more Scotchmen were consecrated in London by English bishops, and it was from their lineal successors that Bishop Seabury received his office in Aberdeen. It is also a curious fact that the English nonjuring line failed in all its branches, except in that which combined with and was merged in the regular succession of the Scottish Church.¹ In a recently published *brochure* on Johannes Scotus, we are well reminded of another interesting coincidence, viz., that from the holy isles of Iona and Lindisfarne flowed that living stream which, in direct and unbroken progression, bore the validity of episcopal order in America by North British bishops, who in the Concordate describe themselves as of "the Catholic remainder of the ancient Church of Scotland."²

It may also be added that the removal of the civil disabilities of the Scotch bishops is thought to have been indirectly brought about by their action in consecrating Bishop Seabury.³

¹ "The Election in Order to Consecration of the First Bishop of Connecticut," by the Rev. Wm. J. Seabury, D.D., p. 17.

² "Johannes Scotus and the Spagnoletto Portrait," by the Hon. George Shea, p. 13. See also "Leaders in the Northern Church," by Bishop Lightfoot.

³ Perry's "History of the Constitution of the American Church," p. 208; also, Seabury Centenary Report, p. 79.

CHAPTER VII

THE TRANSITION PERIOD OF THE CHURCH'S HISTORY

The relations of the clergy to political affairs—Their grievances—General sympathy with the movement for independence—Churchmen, both clerical and lay, in the predominance among its supporters—General Washington—Early meetings of the clergy for consultation—The Maryland Declaration of Ecclesiastical Rights—The preliminaries for a General Convention—The first ordinations—The first consecration of a church—The First General Convention—Lay representation—Provisional Constitution—The validity of Bishop Seabury's consecration—"The Proposed Book"—A reply to the Archbishops and Bishops—Their response—The General Convention at Wilmington—The Rev. Dr. Smith of Maryland.

NATURALLY enough, the transition period of Church history, which covers the times immediately preceding and following the War of the Revolution and the possession of autonomy by the Church, forms one of its most critical and interesting epochs. Indeed, as one studies the trials and perils which beset the Church, one is forced anew to wonder that she did not entirely perish, or at least so far depart from Catholic principles as to cut herself off from communion with her Anglican mother.

For years, the growing dissatisfaction with the political condition of the country and the many utterances looking towards national independence were

well known to the clergy, and were the subject of discussion between them and their parishioners. To some of the clergy, the grievances complained of appeared real and intolerable. To others, they seemed better than the ills to which an uncertain rebellion might expose the Colonies. Again, there were those to whom, no doubt, the name of Tory properly belonged, and who, from their unnecessary zeal in the controversy, could hardly expect to avoid severe treatment from the excited populace. And yet there were others so named who were men of lofty principle, and who acted solely at the dictates of a religious conscience. They honestly believed themselves to be right, and so preferred neutrality, even with persecution, rather than, by violating their convictions, to gain security and popularity. They felt themselves still bound by their oath to the British Government, and by the pecuniary support which they received from abroad. They knew further that much of the political agitation was based not solely upon a sense of wrong done by the Crown and Parliament, but was due to an abhorrence of the Church, whose overthrow the Dissenters hoped at the same time to accomplish. Hence it was that some of their ministers preached war instead of peace.

It is very easy, therefore, to appreciate the difficulties in which the Church was placed, and the strained relations existing between many of the clergy and their people. And no matter what may be the views entertained of their policy, it is difficult not to admire the patience and devotion with which the ill-requited

missionaries went on in their labours, despite the straits and intimidations they were compelled to endure.¹

Personal violence was not wanting in a number of instances. "They were assaulted with stones and dirt, ducked in water, obliged to flie for their lives, driven from their habitations and families, laid under arrests, and imprisoned;"² and what greatly added to their misery, was the knowledge that many of their parishioners were reduced, through like causes, to the same poverty and danger. In writing of these times, one of the exiled clergymen (the Rev. Isaac Brown) says, "The judgments of God fall very heavy on the inhabitants of this land in general, and seem to be yet increasing daily. Even the brute creation groans and travails in pain; for all manner of cruelties are practised upon the beasts of the field, as well as their owners, in this day of common calamity; and no prospect of redress that I can see, either from Heaven or men; for the inhabitants have not yet learned righteousness, and consequently remain very proper instruments to execute the Divine vengeance on one another." Some churches were converted into stables for the horses of the Continental soldiers. Organ pipes were melted into bullets, and altar vessels were stolen and desecrated.

¹ See a letter from the Rev. Philip Reading, dated Apoquinimink, Delaware, August 25, 1776.

² See "Letters of the Rev. Thos. Barton to the Secretary, S.P.G.," dated Nov. 25, 1776, and January 8, 1779. One who had made himself especially obnoxious because of his Tory sentiments, was beguiled from his bed at night, taken into the woods, stripped, whipped, and left tied to a tree.

In a letter addressed to the Bishop of London, under date of June 30, 1775, the Rev. Messrs. Richard Peters, William Smith, Jacob Duché, Thomas Coombe, William Stringer, and William White express their hope and prayer that even yet there may be found by "the good and benevolent men in both countries, a plan of reconciliation, worthy of being offered by a great nation, that have long been the patrons of freedom throughout the world, and not unworthy of being accepted by a people sprung from them, and by birth claiming a participation of their rights."

Notwithstanding the opposition to the War of the Revolution on the part of some of the clergy and the neutrality of others, there was in the Church much sympathy with the movement, both among the clergy and laity. We have already seen evidence of it in the earlier history of Virginia, where the vestries at intervals sounded what may be fairly denominated the first notes of alarm. Dr. Joseph Warren, an eminent patriot and martyr, witnessed that "the gentlemen of the Established Church of England are men of the most just and liberal sentiments, and are high in the esteem of the most sensible and resolute defenders of the rights of the people of this continent." In the north, Bass and Parker—both of them afterwards bishops—boldly allied themselves to the cause of independence. So did Provoost, afterwards Bishop of New York, and Madison, first Bishop of Virginia. Croes, the first Bishop of New Jersey, served for the greater part of the war as a non-commissioned officer, while Robert Smith, the first Bishop of South Carolina,

and Charles M. Thruston, of Virginia, were privates in the same army. A graphic account is preserved of the manner in which John Peter Gabriel Muhlenberg finally became a major-general. He was rector of Woodstock, Virginia, and had received a colonel's commission from General Washington. He proceeded on a Sunday to church, and, after a patriotic sermon, took leave of his congregation in the following words: "There is a time for all things—a time to preach and a time to pray; but there is also a time to fight, and that is now come." He then gave them his benediction, and throwing back his gown, discovered to them his military uniform. He ordered the drums to beat for recruits, and soon marched away from the churchyard with 300 soldiers. He remained with the army to the close of the war, and then engaged in civil pursuits, until his death in 1807. It was Duché, a Philadelphia clergyman, that offered the first prayer in Congress, arrayed in full canonicals, and William White who was its regular chaplain. Many other names might be given, but these may suffice as examples. In South Carolina, it is calculated that fifteen out of the twenty clergymen there espoused the national cause.

Of laymen belonging to the Church, who were leaders in this cause, and afterwards took a prominent part in the formation of the new government, there were many in all sections of the land. Chief, of course, among them was Washington, who as a young man had been a lay-reader in Pennsylvania, and who was

a communicant¹ and regular worshipper wherever he lived. Benjamin Franklin, Alexander Hamilton, John Marshall, John Jay, Robert Morris, Francis Hopkinson, John Randolph, Patrick Henry, and the Pinkneys will serve as illustrations of the manner in which the Church was drawn upon for the best material of which the young nation's several departments were constituted. It may also be added that the Declaration of Rights, adopted by the Virginia Legislature, and subsequently embodied in the Declaration of Independence, was written by George Mason, a Churchman, and that not less than two-thirds of the signers of the latter Declaration were likewise Churchmen. Thomas Jefferson, its chief author, was a member of the Church, and a regular attendant upon her services. It was from the steeple of Christ Church, Boston, that the signal-lanterns of Paul Revere were hung, on Easter-Tuesday, April 18, 1775, announcing to expectant multitudes the beginning of the struggle which ended in the overthrow of the British Government. The first notice taken of the Declaration by any religious body was the action of the rector and vestry of the united parishes of Christ Church and St. Peter's, Philadelphia, in immediately adapting the Prayer-Book to the change in civil affairs.

¹ Bishop White states ("Memoir," by the Rev. Bird Wilson, D.D., p. 196) that General Washington, while a regular attendant upon public worship, was not a communicant in the Philadelphia parishes, but there are equally positive statements of his having occasionally communicated in S. Paul's Chapel, New York, in his later life. In his earlier life in Virginia, he was a frequent communicant. His devout and Christian course in general is known beyond all possibility of controversy.

A comparison is often drawn between the Constitution of the Church and that of the Republic, with a view of showing the similarity between the two instruments—a similarity not to be wondered at, when it is recollected that a number of those who were concerned in framing the one were also concerned in framing the other. But it must also be remembered that the Church's constitution was first adopted. As in England,¹ ecclesiastical unity preceded political unity, just as we shall see, later on, that the Church in America was reunited before the State, after the great Civil War. Two-thirds of those who framed the Constitution were Churchmen. Thus has it been in all subsequent periods. The very large number of Churchmen filling various posts of prominence in the State, both at home and as ambassadors abroad, proves unquestionably the complete manner in which the Church has enabled her members to adapt themselves to American ideas and institutions.

It is easy to imagine that, under all the circumstances of such a revolution, the condition of the Church, which, even after the declaration of peace was reckoned to be the Church of England, and therefore was looked upon by many with suspicion and hostility, would be anything but prosperous. If it had not been for the humane and Catholic policy of the S.P.G., in continuing during the war the stipends of such missionaries as remained on the ground, there would have been still more serious losses to record.

¹ Chronologically and actually, the Church there established the State, and not the State the Church.

There were instances of growth even during the war, but they were exceptional. Dr. Inglis thus notes one of them, in a letter addressed to the S.P.G., under date of May 6, 1782: "It may be some satisfaction to you to hear that the Church of England, notwithstanding the persecutions it suffers, gains ground in some places, especially in Connecticut. This I can assure you of as an indubitable fact. The steady uniform conduct of the Society's missionaries, and of a few clergymen who are not in this service, in that province; their adherence to the dictates of conscience by persevering in loyalty and preaching the Gospel, unadulterated with politics, raised the esteem and respect even of their enemies; whilst the pulpit of Dissenters resounded with scarcely anything else than the furious politics of the times, which occasioned disgust in the more serious and thinking. The consequence is that many serious Dissenters have actually joined the Church of England. The increase in some places has been surprisingly great."¹

As far back as 1707, the Rev. Evan Evans could write that "that Church which first seemed to be but a private conventicle is now become truly the Catholic Church in these parts."

But, as already intimated, the general condition of ecclesiastical affairs was discouraging. Parishes became wholly extinct, or were for a time entirely forsaken. In 1783, scarcely more than a hundred

¹ It will be seen later how, because of the same abstinence from political harangues in the pulpit, the Church gained largely during the period of the Civil War (1861-65).

Church clergymen were in the whole country.¹ Yet those who still remained seemed in many cases to be quite awake to the responsibilities resting upon them, in view of the change wrought in the position of the Church; and there were not a few laymen who sympathised with them in their plans as to its independent and national organisation.

Indeed, the subject of national or provincial organisation had been in the minds of the clergy long before the War of Independence. In 1704, the clergy of what was then called the province of New York, "the Itinerants to the Jerseys," Mr. Nichols, of Chester, and Mr. Evans, of Philadelphia, convened in New York to consult as to the condition and requirements of the Church. They transmitted their views by letter to the Bishop of London.

Colonel Quarry, in a letter of February 12, 1708, writes of some such meeting as being held under oaths of secrecy, and roundly censures "these young gentlemen of the clergy" for their "rash act," and compares the time of mutual complaints with the recent time, when "the Minister could no sooner propose or mention a conveniency or want but immediately the Vestry met and supplied it, and every man thought himself happy that could enjoy most of the Minister's conversation at their houses."

In 1719, the clergy of Virginia met together at Williamsburg, for the same purpose, and from that time on, at different intervals, similar meetings were

¹ At one time, the Rev. Dr. White was the only Church clergyman in Pennsylvania.

held in various parts of the country. The most important of these assembled at Annapolis, Maryland, in August 1783. As setting forth the views which were generally entertained at that time, and as the basis of like declarations subsequently issued elsewhere, the Declaration, which was then unanimously agreed upon, deserves a prominent place in the records of that period. It is also, so far as is known, the first public use of that name of the American Church which has been so long its legal title: The Protestant Episcopal Church.¹

"A Declaration of certain fundamental Rights and Liberties of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Maryland; had and made at a Convention or Meeting of the Clergy of said Church, duly assembled at Annapolis, August 13, 1783, agreeable to a Vote of the General Assembly passed upon a petition presented in the Name and Behalf of the said Clergy.

"Whereas by the Constitution and Form of Government of this State 'all persons professing the Christian Religion are equally entitled to protection in their Religious Liberty, and no person by any law (or otherwise) ought to be molested in his Person or Estate, on account of his religious persuasion or profession, or for his religious practice; unless, under Colour of Religion, any man shall disturb the good order, peace, or safety of the State, or shall infringe

¹ It was at this same meeting in Annapolis that Dr. Smith was chosen—as Claggett expresses it, in a letter to a friend—"to go to Europe to be ordained an *Antistes*, President of the Clergy, or Bishop, if that name does not hurt your feelings."

the Laws of morality, or injure others in their natural, civil, or religious Rights.' And

" *Whereas* the ecclesiastical and *Spiritual Independence* of the different Religious Denominations, Societies, Congregations, and Churches of Christians in this State, necessarily follows from, or is included in their *civil Independence* :

"Wherefore we, the Clergy of the *Protestant Episcopal Church of Maryland* (heretofore denominated *the Church of England*, as by Law established) with all Duty to the civil Authority of the State, and with all Love and Good-will to our Fellow-Christians of every other religious Denomination, do hereby *declare, make known, and claim* the following, as certain of the *fundamental Rights and Liberties* inherent in and belonging to the said Episcopal Church, not only of common Right, but agreeably to the express Words, Spirit, and Design of the Constitution and Form of Government aforesaid, viz.—

"I. We consider it as the undoubted Right of the said Protestant Episcopal Church, in common with other Christian Churches under the American Revolution, to complete and preserve herself as an *entire* Church, agreeably to her ancient Usages and Profession, and to have the free Enjoyment and free Exercise of those purely *spiritual Powers* which are essential to the Being of every *Church* or Congregation of the *faithful*, and which, being derived only from CHRIST and His APOSTLES are to be maintained *independent* of every *foreign* or other Jurisdiction, so far as may be consistent with the civil Rights of Society.

"II. That ever since the *Reformation*, it hath been the received Doctrine of the Church whereof we are Members (and which, by the Constitution of this State, is entitled to the perpetual Enjoyment of certain Property and Rights under the Denomination of the *Church of England*) 'That there be these three Orders of Ministers in Christ's Church, Bishops, Priests and Deacons,' and that an *Episcopal Ordination and Commission* are necessary to the valid Administration of the Sacraments, and the due Exercise of the *Ministerial Functions* in the said Church.

"III. That, without calling in Question the *Rights, Modes, and Forms* of any other Christian Churches or Societies, or wishing the least contest with them on that Subject, we consider and *declare* it to be an essential Right of the said Protestant Episcopal Church to have and enjoy the Continuance of the said *three Orders of Ministers* forever, so far as concerns Matters *purely spiritual*; and that no Persons, in the *Character* of Ministers, except such as are in the Communion of the said Church, and duly called to the Ministry by *regular Episcopal Ordination* can or ought to be admitted into or enjoy any of the 'Churches, Chapels, Glebes, or other Property,' formerly belonging to the Church of England in this State, and which by the Constitution and Form of Government is secured to the said Church forever, by whatsoever Name she, the said Church, or her superior Order of Ministers, may in future be denominated.

"IV. That as it is the Right, so it will be the Duty, of the said Church, when duly organised, constituted,

and represented in a *Synod* or *Convention* of the different Orders of her Ministry and People, to revise her Liturgy, Forms of Prayer, and public Worship, in order to adapt the same to the late *Revolution* and other local Circumstances of America; which it is humbly conceived may and will be done, without any other or farther Departure from the venerable Order and beautiful Forms of Worship of the Church from whence we sprung, than may be found expedient in the Change of our Situation from a DAUGHTER to a SISTER-CHURCH.

(Signed, August 13, 1783.)

“WILLIAM SMITH, *President*, St. Paul's and Chester Parishes, Kent County.

JOHN GORDON, St. Michael's, Talbot.

JOHN M'PHERSON, William and Mary Parish, Charles County.

SAMUEL KEENE, Dorchester Parish, Dorchester County.

WILLIAM WEST, St. Paul's Parish, Baltimore County.

WILLIAM THOMPSON, St. Stephen's, Cecil County.

WALTER MAGOWAN, St. James's Parish, Ann-Arundel County.

JOHN STEPHEN, All Faith Parish, St. Mary's County.

THO. JNO. CLAGGETT, St. Paul's Parish, Prince George's County.

GEORGE GOLDIE, King and Queen, St. Mary's County.

JOSEPH MESSINGER, St. Andrew's Parish, St. Mary's County.

JOHN BOWIE, St. Peter's Parish, Talbot County.

WALTER HARRISON, Durham Parish, Charles County.

WILLIAM HANNA, St. Margaret's, Westminster Parish, Ann-Arundel County.

THOMAS GATES, St. Ann's, Annapolis.

*(Signed, June 23rd, 1784.)*¹

“JOHN ANDREWS, St. Thomas’s Parish, Baltimore County.

HAMILTON BELL, Stephney Parish, Somerset County.

FRANCIS WALKER, now of Shrewsbury Parish, Kent County.”

The honour of suggesting the preliminary meeting of representatives from the whole country, which eventually led to what is now known as the General Convention, would seem to be due to the Rev. Abraham Beach, of New Brunswick, New Jersey. He corresponded on the subject, early in 1784, with Dr. William White, who had already moved in the matter of a convention of the different parishes in Pennsylvania, and who was also very much in favour of such an assembly as Mr. Beach proposed. The call for this gathering was issued, and it took place at New Brunswick, on Tuesday, May 11, 1784, in connection with a meeting of the Corporation for the Relief of the Widows and Orphans of the Clergy. There were present clergy and laity from New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. The secretary was the Rev. Benjamin Moore, afterwards Bishop of New York. The only action taken was the appointment of committees to secure the co-operation of the whole Church (especially of Connecticut, whose status was not as yet clearly defined) in measures looking to the formation of “a continental representation of the Episcopal Church, and for the better management of the other concerns of the said Church.”

¹ These later signatures were appended at a meeting held on the day mentioned, when both the clergy and laity of Maryland were present. The latter, in a separate conference, considered the Declaration by paragraphs, and unanimously approved it.

At the instance of Dr. White, a meeting of the clergy and laity of Pennsylvania was held in Philadelphia, May 24, 1784. This assembly is noteworthy, among other things, from the fact that it was the first of such formal conferences where the laity had been accorded the rights and privileges of membership.¹ Four clergymen and twenty-one laymen were present. A series of fundamental principles was set forth, which followed very much the Maryland declaration of the previous year, although it was more concisely expressed. It is claimed that, after all, they were but an amplification of the ideas originally set forth by Dr. White, in "The Case of the Episcopal Churches Considered."² The clergy of Maryland met again at Chester, October 1784, and agreed upon certain Constitutions, which were quite similar to those afterwards adopted by the General Convention.

The clergy of Massachusetts and Rhode Island met at Boston, September 8, 1784, and adopted substantially the principles which had been forwarded to them from the Pennsylvania Convention, adding a clause which reserved to the Churchmen of America the right to apply for the Episcopate to some regular Episcopal foreign power, a subject upon which they addressed a circular letter to the clergy in Connecticut, New York, and Pennsylvania. In this letter, signed by the Moderator, John Greaves, of Rhode Island, though written by Parker, it was stated, as the unani-

¹ See pp. 145, 146.

² See "Bohlen Lectures" (1890), by the Bishop of Iowa, on "The History of the Constitution of the American Church," pp. 64 and 74.

mous opinion of the clergy assembled, "that it is beginning at the wrong end to attempt to organise our Church before we have obtained a head." And again : "We cannot conceive it probable, or even possible, to carry the plan you¹ have pointed out into execution before an Episcopate is obtained to direct our motions and by a delegated authority to claim our assent."

Notwithstanding this unfavourable opinion, the plan, as originally proposed, was carried out, and a Convention was held in New York, October 6 and 7, 1784. There were present one clergyman from Massachusetts and Rhode Island, one from Connecticut, six clergymen and three laymen from New York, one clergyman and three laymen from New Jersey, three clergymen and four laymen from Pennsylvania, two clergymen and one layman from Delaware, and one clergyman from Maryland. In addition to these regularly accredited members, there was also present, "by permission," the Rev. Wm. Griffith, from Virginia, who could not be accounted a delegate, inasmuch as the clergy of that State were prohibited by law from taking any formal part in the proceedings. The business of the Convention consisted in enumerating certain fundamental principles, such as had been adopted at the provincial meetings already noted, and in recommending the assembling of a General Convention, to be governed by such principles, and to be held in Philadelphia on the following Feast of St. Michael. It was resolved that bishops should be *ex officio* members of such General Conventions, and that the clergy and

¹ From this "you," the clergy of Connecticut must be excluded.

laity, while deliberating in one body, should vote separately, and that the concurrence of both orders should be necessary to give validity to any measure.

Before the assembling of the General Convention at Philadelphia, the clergy and laity of several of the provinces met separately, to consider what steps were advisable for them to take with reference to the coming assembly. There was a common agreement among them in favour of sending representatives to it, and of the principles already laid down. Virginia, however, gave only a qualified assent to some of them, and South Carolina *stipulated that no bishop should be settled in that State*. This latter fact shows how strong, even among avowed Churchmen, the prejudice still was against the introduction of bishops consecrated by others in a foreign country. Even as late as 1787 there were some (not many) in Virginia opposed to the introduction of the Episcopate, who ventured to assert the equality of bishops and presbyters in ancient times. In Virginia likewise, there was considerable hostility to the adoption of more than the one Creed, the Apostles'; and Churchmen there proposed that bishops should of necessity continue to hold a parish,¹ and take an oath of allegiance to the Commonwealth.

In these provincial gatherings, there was evidently enough an assertion of the sovereign independence of the Church within such jurisdictions, but there was also a growing desire for some corporate unity which

¹ It has been by no means uncommon, even up to a very recent date, for bishops to be rectors of parishes within their dioceses, chiefly from financial considerations.

should be recognised and felt throughout the new Republic. In Connecticut, and in other parts of New England, this sense of independence was all the stronger because of the consecration of Bishop Seabury, who was more or less formally recognised as in charge of that section. He was by due election Bishop of Rhode Island as well as of Connecticut, afterwards of Massachusetts, and so practically of the whole of New England. He had held a convention of his clergy at Middletown, Connecticut, August 2, 1785, when, after receiving from them a dutiful address, he made a suitable reply. This was followed by an ordination, which, as being the first ever witnessed in America, had a peculiar interest and importance. Four persons were made deacons, Messrs. Henry Van Dyke,¹ Philo Shelton,² and Ashbel Baldwin,³ of Connecticut, with Mr. Colin Ferguson,⁴ of Maryland. This last name occurs first on the Bishop's register, and may therefore be presumed to be that of the person first ordained. At the conclusion of the service, "the Bishop dissolved the Convention, and directed the clergy to meet him at five o'clock in convocation." Besides eleven of the Connecticut clergy, there were present the Rev. Benjamin Moore, of New York, and the Rev. Samuel Parker, of Boston. The

¹ Successively rector at Amboy and New Brunswick, New Jersey, at Burlington, New Jersey, and at Newtown, Long Island.

² He became at once, and continued until his death in 1825, rector of Fairfield, Connecticut.

³ Rector at Litchfield and then at Stratford, both in Connecticut.

⁴ Professor and afterwards Principal in Washington College, Chestertown, Maryland.

Bishop delivered a charge, in which a brief summary was given of the steps leading to his consecration. An earnest exhortation followed as to the care the clergy should bestow upon their instructions, public and private, and also upon recommendations to candidates for Holy Orders. In closing, he dwelt at length upon the nature of and necessity for Confirmation. The Convocation consulted about liturgical changes and ecclesiastical matters in general, adjourning to meet at New Haven in September.

On the following Sunday, the first American ordination to the Priesthood was held, Mr. Ferguson being the candidate. At the same time Mr. Thomas Fitch Oliver, of Providence, was admitted to the diaconate.¹

The clergy of other parts were invited by those of Connecticut to meet with them in September, but there was no response to this letter, and they felt constrained to decline attending at Philadelphia, chiefly because the recognition of Bishop Seabury's rights was not assured by the fundamental articles as set forth at New York, and for another reason to be hereafter mentioned.² Such alterations as were adopted at Middletown were submitted to the clergy and laity of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire, in convention assembled, and were substantially agreed to by that body. By its instructions, a copy of its proceedings was forwarded to Dr. White, that he might

¹ The first consecration of a church seems to have been at Norwalk, Connecticut, July 1786, at which time nearly 400 persons were confirmed.

² See p. 147.

lay it before the Convention in Philadelphia. Bishop Seabury, in letters addressed to Dr. Smith and Dr. White, while expressing most kindly his good wishes for the approaching Convention, took strong exception to some of the action already taken at the gathering which we have noticed. Especially did he protest against what he deemed a circumscribing of a bishop's power, and the admission of lay delegates.

The proceedings of the first General Convention, which had been summoned to Philadelphia, were anticipated with much interest throughout the country. It was a happy coincidence that it met in what has been well named the City of Brotherly Love. The spirit manifested was worthy of the occasion and of the place. While a few delegates came together on the preceding evening, the proceedings—which were held in Christ Church—did not actually begin until the morning of Michaelmas, 1785. The session continued until the 7th of October. The membership of the Convention consisted of one clergyman and one layman from the State of New York, two clergymen and one layman from the State of New Jersey, five clergymen and thirteen laymen from the State of Pennsylvania, one clergyman and six laymen from the State of Delaware, five clergymen and two laymen from the State of Maryland, one clergyman and one layman from the State of Virginia, and one clergyman with two laymen from the State of South Carolina. It will thus be seen that the laymen were considerably in the predominance. It was partly owing to this lay representation that no delegates were present from

Connecticut and other portions of New England. There were also not a few in the Middle and Southern States that entertained the same view as to what they deemed a departure from apostolic and primitive principles.

Per contra, Dr. White argued in favour of the admission of the laity, lest, because of their absence, the various congregations would not give their adherence to what might be agreed upon by the clergy alone, and so a breach would be made in the Church's unity as to doctrine and discipline.¹ The matter was generally and warmly discussed, and Dr. White more than once expressed the opinion that it would have been impossible on any other terms to have formed a confederacy and a national constitution.² The Rev. Dr. Chandler, of New Jersey, was willing that the laity should be consulted and informed as to proceedings in Conventions, but not that they should have any vote. The Rev. William West, rector of St. Paul's Church, Baltimore, in a letter to Dr. White (July 15, 1784), advocated the giving to the laity the right to approve or disapprove of the election of bishops. In one of the Conventions of Virginia, a layman was elected

¹ One of the reasons then urged in favour of their admission was, that otherwise there would be no persons capable of exercising that authority which the 20th and 24th Articles of the Church of England consider essentially inherent in every Church. Some also quoted the English precedent of laymen sitting in Parliament legislating for the Church, the queen or king assenting. The high character and ability of the laymen participating in the early Conventions went very far towards commending this feature to some who had at first objected to it.

² The laity are admitted to seats with votes in the General Convention and in Diocesan Conventions, and are members of the Standing Committees in all dioceses, except Connecticut, Maryland, and Easton.

and served as chairman. This digression may be lengthened sufficiently to record Dr. West's judgment in favour of a division of States into so many dioceses, rather than into provinces. In regard to this, he said, "Supposing that the States multiplied even into twenty-three, I cannot think twenty-three bishops too many for America. If they prove worthy of their high and sacred character, the more of them the better." The time is not far distant when there will be a hundred sees.

To return to the Convention in Philadelphia: Dr. White was unanimously chosen President, and the Rev. David Griffith, Secretary. The Fundamental Principles, as heretofore proposed, were adopted, with the exception that in regard to alterations in the Liturgy it was agreed that a committee should be appointed to recommend such changes as might be deemed advisable and "consistent with the American Revolution and the Constitutions of the respective States." This same committee was instructed to prepare and report a draft of an Ecclesiastical Constitution. The business thus referred was enough to occupy the whole time of the Convention, except the preparation of an address to the Archbishops and Bishops of England, requesting them to consecrate to the Episcopate such persons as should be recommended to them by the constituted authorities of the American Church. To this address¹ no objection was raised, although among the lay members of the

¹ A very loyal yet urgent one, written mostly by Dr. White, who was also made Chairman of the Committee on Correspondence.

Convention there were some who had been prominent in the recent political discussions, when considerable opposition to the idea of an Episcopate from abroad was manifested.

The Constitution and alterations in the Liturgy were formally approved; but were held in abeyance until they should be considered further by the several States, and finally adopted in the ensuing General Convention. No mention is made in the records of any communication from Bishop Seabury (indeed, his name does not in any way appear); but we learn from Bishop White's "Memoirs," that a letter from the former prelate, addressed to the Rev. Dr. Smith, was read to the Convention, in which he discussed several matters appertaining to its business.

The next Convention, held in Christ Church, Philadelphia, June 20-26, 1786, was not so well attended by the clergy or the laity, there being but fourteen of the former and twelve of the latter, the preponderance now being slightly in favour of the clergy. It was presided over by the Rev. David Griffith, of Virginia, and the Hon. Francis Hopkinson was the Secretary. The proceedings were entered upon with considerable anxiety, as during the interval there had been much discussion on several "burning questions." One of these referred to the validity of Bishop Seabury's consecration, which had been stoutly denied by many. Those who had been ordained by him were forbidden their pulpits by such clergymen as Dr. White, and in the present Convention their general exclusion from all ministerial rights and privileges was recommended

by a resolution adopted on motion of the Rev. Robert Smith, of South Carolina. Much of the opposition thus noted was due to the violent antipathy of the Rev. Mr. Provoost, of New York, whose former political differences with Seabury appear to have influenced him not a little.

The action of the Philadelphia Convention was very unfavourably received in New England, where Bishop Seabury had already won his way to general respect. In particular, the Rev. Mr. Parker expressed his great regret at the manner in which the Bishop had been treated. It is interesting to note what this same clergymen said as to this whole question of the American Episcopate: "However eligible it may appear to obtain the succession from the English Church, I think there can be no real objection to Dr. Seabury's consecration, or the validity of orders received from him; *and I am firmly of the opinion that we should never have obtained the succession from England had he or some other not obtained it first from Scotland.*" He also expressed the opinion that jealousy against the British nation was still so great in the North as to make the Scotch succession much more acceptable to the people at large. It may be added that the absence of any such public commotion on his consecration as had been predicted made the English authorities much more ready to proceed.

The other "burning question" before the General Convention of 1786 was the revision of the Prayer-Book. "The Proposed Book" had been thoroughly examined, and the more it was studied the less were

its radical alterations approved. Even after the adjournment of the previous Convention, there were many changes made by the committee having its publication in charge, the Rev. Drs. Smith, Wharton, and White. They were mainly, it would appear, the work of Dr. William Smith, of Maryland. The general sentiment was against framing any permanent or authoritative book until the Church should be more completely organised, and so its use was only permissive, and all reference to it in the form of subscription before ordination was withdrawn.

Another most important matter was the consideration of and reply to the letter from the Archbishops and Bishops of England, in response to the memorial which had been addressed to them by the preceding Convention. This memorial had been transmitted to Mr. John Adams, the American Minister at the Court of S. James. Although a Congregationalist, he cheerfully lent his influence in its behalf, personally presenting the document to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and supporting its statements by similar assurances of his own. In a letter written to Bishop White, a number of years afterwards, Mr. Adams says, "There is no part of my life on which I look back and reflect with more satisfaction than the part I took, bold, daring, and hazardous as it was to myself and mine, in the introduction of Episcopacy into America."

The answer returned by the English prelates was not such as some had anticipated, but loyal Churchmen have reason to be thankful for it. At the time of writing, the proposed alterations in the Prayer-Book

had not been received by them, although they had been forwarded. But, through private channels, they had learned enough of them to make them suspicious of their entire orthodoxy. "While we are anxious," they said, "to give every proof of not only our brotherly affection, but of our facility in forwarding your wishes, we cannot but be extremely cautious, lest we should be the instruments of establishing an ecclesiastical system which will be called a branch of the Church of England, but afterwards may possibly appear to have departed from it essentially, either in doctrine or in discipline."

After due consideration of this document, another address to the English bench was adopted, in which, according to the *résumé* by Bishop White, there was "an acknowledgment of their friendly and affectionate letter, a declaration of not intending to depart from the doctrines of the English Church, and a determination of making no further alterations than such as either arose from a change of circumstances or appeared conducive to union, and a repetition of the prayer for the succession." (See Preface to the American Prayer-Book, and subsequent Declaration by the General Convention, p. 182.)

After the adjournment of this Convention, a letter was received from the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, giving the result of a conference which they with fifteen bishops had held in London. At this conference the various communications from America were fully considered, with the proposed Constitution and alterations in the Prayer-Book. In the letter it is

said, "It was impossible not to observe with concern that if the essential doctrines of our common faith were retained, less respect, however, was paid to our Liturgy than its own excellence and your declared attachment to it had led us to expect. Not to mention a variety of verbal alterations, of the necessity or propriety of which we are by no means satisfied, we saw with grief that two of the confessions of our Christian faith,¹ respectable for their antiquity, have been entirely laid aside; and that even in that which is called the Apostles' Creed, an article is omitted, which was thought necessary to be inserted with a view to a particular heresy in a very early age of the Church, and has ever since had the venerable sanction of universal reception." The Archbishops then go on to state that, confiding in the willingness of the American Church to fulfil such conditions as might be exacted, they had already prepared a bill, which they believed would soon be passed by Parliament, whereby authority would be granted to the Archbishops and Bishops to consecrate such persons from America as should be deemed qualified. The conditions are next stated, viz., that testimonials should be presented by such persons of their learning and godly conversation, and, further, that the Apostles' Creed should be restored to its integrity. They also expressed the hope that the other two creeds would be placed in the Prayer-Book, "even though the use of them be left discretionary." And, lastly, attention was called to the Eighth Article of the Constitution, as "a degradation

¹ The Nicene and the Athanasian.

of the clerical, and still more of the Episcopal character.”¹

This last point had already been satisfactorily attended to in the Philadelphia Convention, and the others were acted upon at a General Convention held in Wilmington, Delaware, October 10–11, 1786. The religious services were in the Old Swedes' Church, the business sessions in the Academy Hall. Of this Convention it is well said by the Bishop of Iowa,² “Never in the history of the American Church were more momentous matters disposed of than those which in October 1786 were decided by the votes of a score of clergymen and laymen in the brief space of two days.” The attendance was indeed small compared with the importance of the subjects to be discussed. From New York there were present one clergyman and two laymen; from New Jersey, two clergymen and three laymen; from Delaware, two clergymen and two laymen; from Pennsylvania, three clergymen and three laymen; from South Carolina, one clergyman and one layman; from Maryland, one clergyman: both orders being about equal in number. Dr. Provoost was chosen Chairman, and the Hon. Francis Hopkinson, Secretary. A committee was appointed to consider the various documents from England, and sat up all night discussing them. Their report was in favour of restoring the Apostles' Creed to its integrity, and the

¹ The denial to the Episcopate of its rightful prerogatives was due to the strenuous opposition to them on the part of the laymen. The clergy, with but a single exception, voted against the degrading regulations.

² In his article on the Centennial General Convention in the *Independent*, October 10, 1889.

Nicene Creed to the Prayer-Book. On the question of restoring the words, "He descended into hell," the votes of New York, Pennsylvania, and Delaware were divided. New Jersey voted "Aye" (only one delegate, a layman, dissenting), as did South Carolina. So the resolution was adopted, owing to the nullity of the divided votes. In the thirteen "Ayes" were included eight clergymen and five laymen. In the seven "Noes" were one clergyman (Dr. Wharton) and six laymen.

The Nicene Creed was restored unanimously. On the question of admitting the Athanasian Creed, New York, Pennsylvania, and South Carolina voted "No" unanimously; New Jersey and Delaware were divided, two laymen in the former diocese and one clergyman (Mr. Thorne) voting "Aye." In all, there were eight clergymen and nine laymen in the negative, and only one clergyman and two laymen in the affirmative. It would appear that while some of the delegates were opposed to this Creed being so far restored to the Prayer-Book as to require its public recital, they were quite ready to vote in favour of its being mentioned somewhere in such a way as to show that the American Church assented to the truths which it contained. This action of the Wilmington Convention was equivalent to a death-blow to the proposed book. It had never been generally used—in Connecticut, not at all—and thenceforth it was laid aside permanently.

In all these votes Dr. Smith, the only representative from Maryland, was disfranchised, on the ground that it would be inconsistent with the fundamental articles

for a State to be represented by a clerical or lay deputy only. An even still more adverse vote awaited him, for when the several States were called upon to name such persons as had been elected and recommended for episcopal consecration, and Dr. Smith's name was thus presented (he had been chosen in 1783), his testimonials were rejected on the ground of his intemperance. There is no record of such action in the published minutes, but the fact is brought out clearly in the correspondence of that period. It is but just to add that Dr. Smith strenuously denied the charges made against him. His eminent abilities were at no time questioned. The testimonials of Dr. Provoost of New York, of Dr. White of Pennsylvania, and of Dr. Griffith of Virginia were all signed by the entire Convention.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CHURCH FULLY ORGANISED

Consecration of Bishops White and Provoost—Their return to America—Proportionate representation—The Rev. Dr. Griffith and his deferred consecration—Consecration of Bishop Madison—The General Convention of 1789—Bishop Seabury's consecration declared valid—Revision of the Constitution, and adoption of Canons—Revision of the Prayer-Book—The Athanasian Creed—The Communion Office—Consecration of Bishop Claggett—The priority in America of the Anglican Episcopate—Archbishop Carroll and his consecration.

WITH the adjournment of the Convention at Wilmington, the American Church may be said to have safely passed its preliminary stages of organisation. There was still lacking, it is true, the complement of bishops requisite for its autonomy, but this was only a matter of brief delay, inasmuch as the obstacles in the way of obtaining it were already partially removed.

As soon as possible, Drs. Provoost and White set sail for England, where they arrived on November 21, after a voyage of nineteen days. Dr. Griffith was to have accompanied them, but owing to some delay as to his testimonials, and also to the want of funds to defray the necessary expenses, he remained in Virginia.¹ On their reaching London, they were very cordially received by the Archbishop of Canterbury² and others.

¹ See p. 161.

² The Most Rev. Dr. Moore.

At court the King was also very gracious to them, and in due time all the requisite preparations were made for their consecration. This most interesting event took place on Sunday, February 4, 1787, in the Chapel at Lambeth Palace. The Archbishop of Canterbury was assisted by the Archbishop of York,¹ and by the Bishops of Bath and Wells² and of Peterborough.³ The sermon was preached by one of the Archiepiscopal chaplains, the Rev. Dr. Drake. There were but few persons present outside of the family and household of the Archbishop. Among them was the Rev. Dr. Duché, formerly of Philadelphia. Bishop White was consecrated first.

On the following evening they left London on their return journey; but, owing to contrary winds, it was not until the 18th of February that they sailed from Falmouth. They landed in New York on the afternoon of Easter-Day, April 7. Immediately, Bishop Seabury addressed to each of them a most cordial letter of congratulation, in which he also invited them to a conference on ecclesiastical affairs. No one was more anxious than himself to avoid anything like a schism, but, left to themselves, as they had been by the Southern dioceses, he and his clergy had already proceeded to the election of a Connecticut priest, the Rev. Abraham Jarvis, who should go to Scotland for consecration as coadjutor-bishop.⁴ He was,

¹ The Most Rev. Dr. Markham.

- ² The Right Rev. Dr. Moss.

³ The Right Rev. Dr. Hinchcliffe.

⁴ Leaming had first been elected, and then Mansfield, but both were constrained to decline.

however, well advised in not hastily going abroad. The Scotch bishops intimated their readiness to consecrate him, in the event of a refusal on the part of Bishops Provoost and White to hold communion with Bishop Seabury; but they expressed their belief that no such contingency would arise.

Bishop Seabury had published a second charge to the clergy of the diocese at Derby, September 1786, in which he had spoken sternly in rebuke of some of the actions of the Conventions held in the Middle (or, as they were then called, Southern) States, particularly with reference to the alterations in the Prayer-Book and the degradation of the Episcopate. And yet, as already stated, he was very anxious for a confederation of all the dioceses. But, as he expressed himself, it must be "on even terms, and not as underlings"—referring to the objections still made by Bishop Provoost and others against the validity of his own consecration.¹ He also insisted that, so far at least as Connecticut was concerned, the laity should not have an equal voice in the councils of the Church.²

The same question of proportionate representation,

¹ It seems strange now that there should have been as much hesitancy to acknowledge the fact that the Scotch Church was identical in polity and authority with the English. It can be chiefly accounted for only on the ground of political prejudices, arising both from the fidelity of the Scotch bishops to the House of Stuart and from Seabury's Toryism.

² As already noted, the laity are still excluded in the diocese of Connecticut from the Standing Committee. Dr. Inglis advanced the idea that it might be well for bishops to be elected by the clergy, subject to the approval of the Governors of the several States. He was opposed to the laity sitting in Conventions with the clergy.

which has been under discussion during the latter part of the present century was earnestly considered at the time of the original adoption of the Church's constitution. Bishop White was not in favour of an equal vote being allowed to every diocese. Although he was in the minority, he continued to hold his views, to which he gave expression anew in a paper drawn up by him shortly before the meeting of the General Convention of 1829. One of the leading arguments used by those who favoured an equality of representation was that the same feature was to be found in the Constitution of the United States. Certain it is that by its incorporation into the ecclesiastical instrument, the various dioceses were all the more moved to effect the primary confederation. It would, therefore, seem to have the weight of a fundamental principle.

There was correspondence at intervals between prominent clergymen as to the deferred consecration of Dr. Griffith. On the one hand, it was contended that there were now three bishops validly consecrated, who might proceed with the business. On the other hand, Bishop White was of the opinion that he and Bishop Provoost were under at least an implied pledge to the English bishops not to consecrate any others until there were three of the English succession. In the meantime, Virginia failed to raise the necessary funds for Dr. Griffith's voyage.

After a discussion of the proposition to have the three bishops consecrate him, the diocese decided it to be impracticable, and the Standing Committee, under instructions, requested Bishops Provoost and

White, or either of them, to consecrate him. This they at once refused to do. It was the belief of Dr. Griffith himself, and of others, that the diocese at heart was quite indifferent, if not indeed hostile, to the whole matter.¹

There was, it may be, a providential ordering in all this delay; for if the necessity for three English consecrated bishops had been insisted upon to the very end before any other American bishop could have been made—thus publicly and formally repudiating the authority of Bishop Seabury—there is room for believing that a schism would have been forced upon the infant Church, inasmuch as the New England dioceses were determined that his authority should be fully conceded. It is true that a third bishop (Madison, of Virginia) was consecrated in England,² but this was not until after the validity of Seabury's consecration had been explicitly recognised by the General Convention. By this double action, the scruples of all were happily satisfied, and all serious trouble averted.

By the time the General Convention met in 1789, Churchmen in all sections of the country would seem to have concluded that by some means the various dioceses must be united, and all cause for contention and distrust be removed. It assembled in Philadelphia on the 28th of July, and was attended by eighteen clerical and sixteen lay representatives, from the

¹ At length, wearied and disheartened by the manner in which he had been treated, he declined to be considered any longer a bishop-elect. He died while attending the General Convention of 1789.

² See p. 169.

dioceses of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina. Bishop White presided. Happily for the accomplishment of the plans for union, Bishop Provoost was absent. Its proceedings were most important, and the unanimity with which they were conducted was full of encouragement for the future. Early in the session, "an act of the clergy of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, recommending the Rev. Edward Bass for consecration," and requesting "the Bishops in the States of Connecticut, New York, and Pennsylvania to unite in canonically investing him with the apostolic office and powers," was presented to the Convention by the President. Before any action was taken on this memorial, the following resolution was unanimously adopted: "Resolved, that it is the opinion of this Convention that the consecration of the Right Rev. Dr. Seabury to the episcopal office is valid." At an earlier stage of the session, some delegates ordained by him had been admitted to seats without question. After a week's consideration of the whole subject, the Convention unanimously reaffirmed this resolution in recognising the existence within the United States of "a complete Order of Bishops, derived as well under the English as the Scots' line of Episcopacy." These three bishops were also unanimously requested to take order for the consecration of Mr. Bass, with the understanding that before they in this way complied with the request of the clergy of New England, the churches there should, with the three bishops, meet the churches of the other States in an adjourned convention.

Bishop White had, out of his large-heartedness and great desire for unity, assented to this proposed consecration. But he still felt that there had been an implied promise to the English bishops not to proceed to any consecration until three of their line had been duly set apart. To meet his scruples and those of others who thought with him, the Convention forwarded an address to the Archbishop and Bishops, requesting their approval of what they had thus felt constrained to do.

The Constitution adopted in 1784 was now revised, the main alteration being a division of the Convention into two Houses, as now existing. Further consideration of its provisions was postponed until the other States should be represented. A body of Canons, numbering ten in all, was also adopted. Before adjourning, a loyal address to President Washington was framed, congratulating him upon his election, to which he made a very gracious reply.¹

The Convention reassembled on Michaelmas Day, in Christ Church, Philadelphia, and did not finish its work until October 15. After the third day, its business sessions were held, by permission of the President of the State, in the State House, and subsequently, when this was required for public use, in the College of Philadelphia. The presence of Bishop Seabury, and of delegates from Connecticut and from

¹ It was the custom in New York and New Jersey—perhaps in other States—for the ecclesiastical authority to send similar addresses to the Governors of the States, on their appointment or election. Cordial and appreciative replies were uniformly returned.

the combined dioceses of Massachusetts¹ and New Hampshire, was the cause of much rejoicing. Before, however, they took their seats, they had what is described in the Journal as "a full, free, and friendly conference" with the other deputies, in which they asked that the Constitution should be so modified as to declare explicitly the right of the Bishops, when sitting in a separate House, to originate legislation, and also to negative such acts of the other House as they might disapprove, "unless such acts shall be adhered to by four-fifths of the other House."² Their request, after some debate, was granted, whereupon they gave, as the other deputies had already done, their formal assent to the Constitution, and were admitted as members of the Convention.

On the following day, the bishops sat as a separate House (under the presidency of the Bishop of Connecticut, because of seniority of consecration), and the Rev. William Smith, D.D., Provost of the College of Philadelphia, was chosen President of the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies. From that time on to the close of the session, the Convention's attention was given almost exclusively to the task of revising the Prayer-Book. The English book, and not the proposed book, was practically the basis of this revision,

¹ These were the Rev. Abraham Jarvis and the Rev. Bela Hubbard from Connecticut, and the Rev. Dr. Samuel Parker : all clergymen, it being, as already noted, against the avowed sentiments of this section of the country to send any laymen.

² This proviso as to adherence by four-fifths of the other House was stricken out in 1808. Thus it was owing chiefly to Bishop Seabury that the episcopal veto was secured.

and the various parts were very carefully considered by the several committees to whom they were assigned for this purpose. In alluding to this work, Bishop White says, "The Journal shows that some parts of it were drawn up by the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies and other parts of it by the House of Bishops. . . . To this day, there are recollected with satisfaction the hours which were spent with Bishop Seabury on the important subjects which came before them; and especially the Christian temper which he manifested all along."¹ In reference to the Athanasian Creed, he makes this record: "The author consented to the proposal of Bishop Seabury of making it an amendment to the draft sent by the other House, to be inserted with a rubric permitting the use of it. This, however, was declared to be on the principle of accommodation to the many who were reported to desire it, especially in Connecticut, where, it was said, the omission of it would hazard the reception of the book. It was the author's intention never to read the Creed himself, and he declared his mind to this effect. Bishop Seabury, on the contrary, thought that without it there would be a difficulty in keeping out of the Church the errors to which it stands opposed."

¹ The revision of the Prayer-Book was at all times conducted with great care and deliberation. Dr. Smith particularly requested Dr. White to preserve the correspondence on this subject, that future generations might know what conscientious work had been bestowed upon this enterprise. Benjamin Franklin, at the instance of Sir Francis Dashwood, Bart., undertook especially the revision of the Catechism, which he would have abbreviated to contain only our duty to God and to our neighbour.

The Lower House, however, rejected the amendment; and when a conference was held on the subject, its members could not be induced to allow it any place in the book, "which," Bishop White adds, "was thought intolerant by the gentlemen from New England, who, with Bishop Seabury, gave it up with great reluctance."

These gentlemen were more fortunate in regard to the Communion Office. It has already been noted that Bishop Seabury, prior to his consecration, had promised to do what he could to bring the American Liturgy into agreement with the Scotch, by restoring to the Consecration Prayer the Oblation and the Invocation. It was so used in Connecticut, and by Bishop Seabury's efforts it was so ordered in the Prayer-Book as adopted in 1789. Bishop White says that there was but little opposition to the amendment thus made. As to Bishop Seabury, he says that it lay very near to his heart: as to himself, that while he did not conceive that the service as it stood was essentially defective, he had always thought "there was a beauty in those ancient forms, and could discover no superstition in them."¹ The adoption of the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion of the Church of England, excepting the Thirty-sixth and Thirty-seventh, was

¹ During the session of the Convention, Bishop Seabury was invited by Bishop White to celebrate the Holy Communion, which he declined to do. Upon being asked a second time, he again declined, saying, "To confess the truth, I hardly consider the form to be used as strictly amounting to a consecration." This, of course, was not the Scotch form, to which he was now accustomed. In this instance, he went further in expressing an opinion of the English Office than he generally did.

proposed, but the matter went over to the next Convention.¹

Surprise is oftentimes expressed at the introduction of the Litany after the prayer for the President, instead of before it, as would have been the case had the analogy of the English book been observed. It would seem to have been so ordered, not upon the authority of the Convention—indeed, when Bishop Seabury's attention was called to this arrangement, he was much surprised and displeased—but upon the motion of Dr. Smith, who was chiefly in charge of printing the book. As a justification of the change, he said that, as President Washington never attended church except in the morning, this would be the only way in which he would himself hear the prayer. It has also been thought that his pastor, Bishop White, was not averse, on account of this fact, to the alteration.²

While the changes wrought in the Prayer-Book—chiefly in the direction of its adaptation to the new form of government and of the alteration of archaic phrases—were in the nature of a compromise between the various schools of Churchmen, it required more argument in New England than elsewhere to obtain for them universal acceptance. Into this work the Bishop of Connecticut entered heartily upon his return

¹ Alluding to this Convention, the present Bishop of Connecticut (the Right Rev. Dr. Williams) says, "For the results of that memorable Convention in which so much was gained—may we not say so little lost?—we are mainly indebted, under the overruling wisdom of the Holy Spirit, to the steadfast gentleness of Bishop White and the gentle steadfastness of Bishop Seabury."—*Seabury Centenary, Connecticut*, p. 108.

² See Beardsley's *Life of Bishop Seabury*, pp. 370 *sqq.*

from the Convention. With but few exceptions, the clergy and people acquiesced, and all now began to feel that the National Church was fairly launched upon her independent course. This conviction was all the more confirmed in the minds of some when, in the autumn of the following year (September 19, 1790), the Rev. James Madison, D.D.,¹ President of William and Mary College, was consecrated Bishop of Virginia, in Lambeth Palace, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by the Bishops of London and Rochester. In this transaction there was a happy settlement of the question raised by such as insisted upon having three bishops in the line of English succession.

All future controversy as to the comparative value of these two lines of succession would seem to have been precluded by the joint-consecration of the Rev. Thomas John Claggett, D.D., as Bishop of Maryland. This occurred during the session of the General Convention in New York, September 17, 1792. The request for his consecration had been made of the whole House of Bishops by the deputies from Maryland,

¹ Bishop Madison came of a prominent family, and himself graduated from college with distinction. He very largely contributed to the reputation of the college, and also served efficiently the cause of higher education in general. One of his pupils, afterwards President of the United States, John Tyler, describes him as "eminently eloquent," and as having had a voice to which he had never heard any equal in its silvery and deep tones. He found a great deal to discourage him in the enfeebled condition of the Church throughout the diocese. Among the young men especially, there was much scepticism and unbelief. He laboured with fidelity, but his infirm health and advancing age precluded him from doing fully what was in his heart and mind. It was in despondency as to the future that he went to his rest in the spring of 1812.

but Bishop Seabury was under the impression that there was on the part of Bishops Provoost and Madison an intention to exclude him from participating in the approaching service. In an interview with Bishop White, he confided to him his suspicions on this score, and warned him of the consequences of such an ignoring of his rights and privileges. The Bishop of Pennsylvania assured him that if such an intention did exist, as to which he was quite incredulous, he himself would have no hand in carrying it out. No obstacle was presented, and accordingly the four bishops united in the solemn act. Thus the first episcopal consecration in America witnessed the happy fusion of the two sources of orders which have ever since entered into the constitution of the American ministry.¹

It may not be amiss, before leaving this part of the Church's early history, involving as it does the question of the Historic Episcopate, to note that her claims to priority, as based upon the possession of this Episcopate, are beyond all controversy. The Roman Catholic Church dates its formal beginning in America (in its own language, "the setting up of the Hierarchy") from 1789, the establishment of its diocese of Baltimore. Its first bishop is of the year 1790. But the Anglican diocese of Maryland was

¹ It took, however, a long time for the early prejudices against Bishop Seabury to disappear from some parts of the country. The author remembers, as late as 1845, the indignation with which his father, then rector of Trinity Church, Philadelphia, was accustomed to correct those who still spoke of Bishop White as the *first* bishop of the American Church.

organised in 1783; and before the first Roman bishop (John Carroll) arrived, there were no less than three bishops of the American Church at work in their several dioceses.¹ These facts will always furnish a ready answer to questions concerning ecclesiastical intrusion in America. It is very easy to know with whom the guilt of schism lies.

And further, as Palmer, in his "Treatise on the Church,"² points out, there are serious difficulties affecting, not only the regularity, but even the validity of the consecration of the Roman bishop already referred to, inasmuch as his consecration was the act (authorised by a Papal bull) of a single bishop in England,³ who was but a titular bishop, and had himself been set apart in a similarly irregular way. The orders of the early Roman clergy in America cannot, therefore, be compared in any way favourably with those of the Anglican clergy. The public manner in which the Seabury Centenary was celebrated, both in Great Britain and in America, forms a striking contrast to the quiet way in which the centenary of Carroll's consecration was passed over in 1890.

¹ See Bishop Paret's Charge, "Our Freedom and our Catholic Heritage," p. 19.

² Vol. i. p. 305, note.

³ The Right Rev. Dr. Charles Walmesley, titular Bishop of Rama.

CHAPTER IX

QUESTIONS OF UNITY, IDENTITY, AND RIGHTS

Overtures to the Church from the High German Church and from the Lutherans—From Dr. Coke—John and Charles Wesley, and their relations to Methodism and Episcopacy—Bishop Madison's proposal for Christian unity—The identity of the American Church with the Church of England—Dissolution of formal ties with the State—Attempts to dispossess the Church of her property—The name of the Church—Domestic missions—The General Conventions of 1792 and 1795—The Rev. Drs. Peters and Bass—South Carolina's attitude—The Rev. Dr. Purcell and duelling—Death of Bishop Seabury—His character and services—His clerical descendants—Bishop Bass—The General Convention of 1799—The Rev. Dr. Ogden—The Weathersfield Conference.

CHURCHMEN were not the only ones in America that were desirous of the Episcopate. We have already recorded the convictions of the Virginia Baptists on this score. In October 1764, the representatives of "the High German Church, called St. George's Church, in the City of Philadelphia," petitioned the Bishop of London to receive their congregation under his episcopal care, and to ordain their minister, promising that they would not thereafter accept the ministrations of any one who had not been ordained and licensed by that bishop, or by some other who might have jurisdiction in that part of America. Nothing seems to have come out of this proposition. In 1797 the Lutheran ministers of New York made a

similar proposition to the Convention of that diocese, but unhappily the matter was allowed to rest until it was too late.

Another one of greater import came from Dr. Coke to the Bishop of Pennsylvania, in a confidential letter, under date of April 24, 1791. In this communication, Dr. Coke reminds the Bishop that he had been ordained to the priesthood in the Church of England, but had also received a commission from John Wesley. "He did," writes Dr. Coke, "indeed solemnly invest me, so far as he had a right to do so, with Episcopal authority,¹ but did not intend, I think, that an entire separation should take place. . . . He went further, I am sure, than he would have gone if he could have foreseen some events which followed. And this I am certain of—that he is now sorry for the separation." He then expresses an earnest wish for reunion, towards which he thinks Mr. Wesley would use his influence to the utmost. This reunion might, he suggests, be brought about by re-ordaining those who were already accounted ministers, a course to which he believes but few of them would object. Bishop White answered, as he himself states, "with the reserve which seemed incumbent on one who was incompetent to decide with effect on the proposal made." The reply was, however, couched in terms most charitable and conciliatory.

Dr. Coke subsequently had several interviews with the Bishop of Pennsylvania, in one of which he read a letter that he had written to the Bishop of Connecticut,

¹ Coke had in a letter asked Wesley to make him a bishop, which he absolutely declined to do.

proposing that both he and Mr. Asbury should be consecrated by the Bishop.¹ There is no record of any reply having been returned by him to this request.² He had at one time declared himself ready to ordain any Methodist preacher whom he should find duly qualified. (See below, in quotation from Charles Wesley's letter.) This Mr. Asbury had been, at his own request, "consecrated" by Dr. Coke and Mr. Otterbine, a German minister. The original imposition of hands by Wesley on Coke had taken place secretly, in the former's bed-chamber (he was then eighty-two years old, and feeble), in Bristol, England. Soon afterwards, Charles Wesley, who had not been aware of this ceremony, and heartily disapproved of it,³ wrote the well-known epigram:—

"So easily are bishops made
By man's or woman's whim ;
Wesley his hands on Coke hath laid,
But who laid hands on *him* ?"

This witty sally contained the pith of the whole matter, and the crucial defect in the procedure soon became apparent, even to John Wesley's mind. At first, the name which Coke and Asbury assumed was, according to Wesley's directions, Superintendent. At length, they took that of Bishop, whose functions they

¹ Dr. Whitehead, Wesley's friend and biographer, spoke of the act as "amazing and confounding to the uninfected itinerants."—*Life of Wesley*, ii. 419.

² Coke suggested that they might be consecrated as Bishops of the Methodist Society in the Protestant Episcopal Church.

³ His sentiments may be inferred from his letter to Dr. Chandler, for which see p. 175.

presumed to discharge. Then it was that Wesley wrote to Asbury in these terms: "You and the Doctor differ from me. I study to be little; you study to be great. I creep; you *strut along*. . . . How can you, how dare you suffer yourself to be called Bishop? I shudder, I start at the very thought! Men may call me a knave or a fool, a rascal, a scoundrel, and I am content; but they shall never by my consent call me Bishop. For my sake, for God's sake, for Christ's sake put a full end to this! Let the Presbyterians do what they please, but let Methodists know their calling better."¹ No wonder that Asbury, on reading this rebuke, remarked "Unpleasant expressions."

Charles Wesley, in a letter to the Rev. Dr. Chandler, of Elizabeth, New Jersey, speaks equally "unpleasant" things: "What will become of those poor sheep in the wilderness—the American Methodists? How have they been betrayed into separation from the Church of England, which their preachers and they no more intended than the Methodists here? Had they had patience a little longer, they would have seen a *real bishop* in America, consecrated by three Scotch bishops, who have their consecration from the English bishops, and are acknowledged by them as the same with themselves."² There is, therefore, not the least

¹ "Wesley's Works" (1829), xiii. 58.

² Charles (and doubtless also John) Wesley knew of Bishop Seabury's intention to go for consecration to Scotland, at the time of the meeting of the conference at Leeds.

Dr. Whitehead, in his "Life of Wesley," remarks of Coke's so-called consecration: "The person who advised the measure would be proved to have been a felon to Methodism, and to have stuck a knife into the vitals of its body."

difference between the members of Bishop Seabury's Church and the members of the Church of England. He told me that he looked upon Methodists as sound members of the Church of England, and was ready to ordain any of their preachers whom he should find qualified. His ordination would indeed be genuine, valid, and episcopal. But what are your poor Methodists now? Only *a new sect of Presbyterians.*" He also speaks of his brother's act as one that was contrary to all his declarations, protestations, and writings, and as leaving an indelible blot on his name.¹

It may be added here that, in 1813, Coke (who, while negotiations with Bishop White were going on favourably, had returned to England, upon hearing of Wesley's death) applied in secret to Lord Liverpool and William Wilberforce to be appointed Bishop for India. He promised, in that event, to return most fully and faithfully into the bosom of the Established Church, to do everything in his power to promote her interests, and to submit to such regulations as might be imposed by the Government and the Bench of Bishops at home.²

In 1788 he had advised, strongly against the wish of some Methodists, that ministers should be ordained from among themselves. This, however, was done while he was imprisoned in Delaware for disaffection to the American cause. Upon his release, he went to Virginia, and succeeded in having such ordinations

¹ Jackson's *Life of Charles Wesley*, ii. 392.

² See Hockin's valuable work, "John Wesley and Modern Methodism," p. 61, and Wilberforce's *Correspondence*, ii. 258.

declared invalid, and in thus restoring union with the Church. This being done, the Methodists there were no longer willing to receive the sacraments from the hands of their preachers, but travelled long distances to receive them from the clergy of the Church, who themselves also, in many instances, made equally long journeys to administer them. Some years before, Wesley had in vain asked Bishop Lowth to ordain at least two priests for this special work among the Methodists.

When the General Convention of 1792 met in New York, Bishop Madison was very sanguine that measures might be adopted whereby the Methodist schism might be healed, and formulated a proposition which may be considered as the first step taken by the American Church towards Christian unity. It read, after some modifications by the other bishops, as follows:—

“The Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, ever bearing in mind the sacred obligation which attends all the followers of Christ, to avoid divisions among themselves, and anxious to promote that union for which our Lord and Saviour so earnestly prayed, do hereby declare to the Christian world that, uninfluenced by any other considerations than those of duty as Christians, and an earnest desire for the prosperity of pure Christianity and the furtherance of our holy religion, they are ready and willing to unite and form one body with any religious society which shall be influenced by the same Catholic spirit. And in order that this

Christian end may be the more easily effected, they further declare that all things in which the great essentials of Christianity or the characteristic principles of their Church are not concerned, they are willing to leave to future discussion; being ready to alter or modify those points which in the opinion of the Protestant Episcopal Church are subject to human alteration. And it is hereby recommended to the State Conventions to adopt such measures or propose such conference with Christians of other denominations as to themselves may be thought most prudent, and report accordingly to the ensuing General Convention."

In the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies the message met with but little favour, on the ground that it tended to a distrust of the Church's stability, without any promise of success with any other religious body. It was accordingly withdrawn, and nothing more was heard of it. But from that time until now, many ministers and people from the Methodists,¹ as indeed from every sect represented in America, have found a home in the Church, and have contributed largely to her prosperity.

The adjustment of the daughter Church's relations

¹ It is not the province of this work to enter into any theological dissertations apart from matters strictly historical. Otherwise, it would be a very easy thing to prove that John and Charles Wesley never thought of leaving the Church, and, as a matter of fact, died in her communion. Quotations could be made from the writings of the former to show how he abhorred and denounced the idea of a separate ecclesiastical organisation for his followers, and how therefore they best deserve that name who are in and of the Anglican Church, to whose distinctive doctrines he ever gave his free assent.

to the mother Church has already passed partially under review. Attention is again called to the matter for the purpose of emphasising the care which was taken to prevent any idea of the formation of a strictly new Church. While she was henceforth to be independent as to all matters of detail in government, ritual, and discipline, she was equally ready to acknowledge herself as simply one of many branches that might belong to the parent stem. In all essential things, she would still be responsible to the Church Catholic.¹

In the Preface to the American Prayer-Book, this principle is fully and frankly set forth in these words: "This Church is far from intending to depart from the Church of England in any essential point of doctrine, discipline, or worship, or further than local circumstances require."

Mention has been made of the recognition by the civil authority of the claims put forth by the American Church to the same rights and privileges as formerly belonged to the Church of England.² Even after the declaration of peace, rates were levied and paid in a number of parishes for the maintenance of the clergy. The same right, in some instances, was allowed to dissenting bodies.³ It was only by degrees that

¹ See an extract from an admirable sermon, preached in 1841, by one of the saints of the American Church, the Rev. Dr. Samuel Roosevelt Johnson: Waylen's Ecclesiastical Reminiscences, pp. 35, 36.

² See especially the Declaration of Rights, set forth in Maryland (see pp. 137 *et seq.*), wherein the identity of the two Churches is clearly recognised by an Act of Assembly.

³ In Maryland, it was provided that persons should have the right

the State Legislatures enacted the formal dissolution of the ties which bound the Church and State together. (Virginia was the first to institute such proceedings.) Where the Dissenting bodies had been so established, this dissolution was the longer postponed. The Congregationalists in Connecticut remained "established" until some time after the beginning of the present century; and, as we have already seen, it was not until 1833 that the final settlement of the question was reached in Massachusetts.

The relation between ecclesiastical and civil things had been more intimate in some states than in others. Those who were elected to the Council of the Delaware State (answering to what is now known as the State Senate) were required, as late as 1776, to make the following declaration: "I do profess faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ His only Son, and in the Holy Ghost, one God blessed for evermore. And I do acknowledge the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments to be given by Divine inspiration."

The severance of such ties was not wholly a political necessity, but sometimes arose from, or was hastened by, a desire on the part of irreligious people to weaken the hold of the Church and Christianity upon the community. Leland, a Baptist chronicler, acknowledges that, so far as concerned the petitions to the Virginia Assembly in 1766 against the Church Estab-

of choosing the places where they would attend public worship, and that out of the tax imposed upon the community for the support of Christianity in general, the ratepayers might designate the denomination to whose benefit the money should be applied. In the same act, the Church's right to her property was allowed.

lishment, "the Presbyterians, Baptists, Quakers, *deists* and *covetous* all prayed for this."¹

This common feeling against the Church was manifested in some States in the attempts made to dispossess the Church of her property. At the time (1776) when the laws for disestablishing the Church were passed in Virginia, there was much controversy on the subject. Among those arrayed against the Church was Thomas Jefferson. Encouraged by what had thus been done, and not satisfied with having been freed from payments in her behalf, the Dissenters importuned the Assembly, until it passed, in 1802, an act by which the glebes were to be sold for the benefit of the indiscriminate public. The constitutionality of this act was at once questioned, and the courts were appealed to for an opinion in the matter. When tried before the Court of Appeals, it was left undetermined, because of the death of Judge Pendleton (the Presiding Judge) in the night before delivering the decision, already reached, by which the Church would have been declared entitled to the lands. At the succeeding term, the judges were equally divided in their opinions, and the author has been informed that at no time has this act of confiscation been declared constitutional by a majority of the bench whose members have deliberated upon it.

Because of a continuance of such attempts to invalidate the Church's title to her property, the General

¹ A similar collusion of heterogeneous elements may be seen in England to-day, endeavouring to rob the National Church there of its inalienable possessions.

Convention in 1814 adopted the following declaration: "It having been credibly stated to the House of Bishops that on questions in reference to property devised before the Revolution to congregations belonging to 'the Church of England,' and to uses connected with that name, some doubts have been entertained in regard to the identity of the body to which the two names have been applied, the House thinks it expedient to make the declaration, and to request the concurrence of the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies therein:—That 'The Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America' is the same body heretofore known in these States by the name of 'the Church of England,' the change of name, although not of religious principle, in doctrine or in worship or in discipline, being induced by a characteristic of the Church of England, supposing the independence of Christian Churches under the different sovereignties, to which, respectively, their allegiance in civil concerns belongs. But that when the severance alluded to took place, and ever since, this Church conceives of herself as professing and acting on the principles of the Church of England, is evident from the organisation of our Conventions, and from their subsequent proceedings, as recorded in the Journals; to which, accordingly, this Convention refers for satisfaction in the premises. But it would be contrary to fact were any one to infer that the discipline exercised in this Church, or that any proceedings therein are at all dependent on the will of the civil or of the ecclesiastical authority of any foreign country."

Bishop Seabury, in Letters of Orders, given to a priest in 1785, describes the Church as the Church of England. He held to this idea for some time, arguing that, although subsisting under a different civil government, she was still the Church of England. "Her being of the Church of England," he said, "no more implies dependence on, or subjection to, England, than being of the Church of Holland implies subjection to Holland."

The name Protestant was rather a popular and political than an ecclesiastical designation in Maryland for nearly a hundred years, having originated with some adherents of William III., near to the close of the seventeenth century. The Rev. Dr. Brand, in his "Life of Bishop Whittingham,"¹ notes that "in retired country places, where old usage lingers, when the writer first came to Maryland, our branch of the Catholic Church was still distinguished from all other religious bodies as 'The Protestant Church.'"

Attempts have been made in several General Conventions to change by legislation the corporate or legal name, Protestant Episcopal; but thus far in vain. Many people, however, habitually substitute some other title in their designation of the Church. In the General Convention of 1844, a resolution was proposed and debated (although afterwards withdrawn) dealing with the case of a clergyman who had signed himself a priest of "The Reformed Catholic Church." Such a practice was described as "derogatory to the Protestant character of the Church, and of evil tendency."

¹ Vol. i. p. 212.

In a document entitled "The Report of the Presiding Bishop on Certain Matters referred to him by the last General Convention (1818) to take order," Bishop White, referring to the Calendar, designates it as "The Calendar of the *American Church*."¹

At the General Convention of 1792, a reconciliation was effected between Seabury and Provoost. The former relinquished the right of presiding, to which he was entitled by virtue of his seniority of consecration, allowing the latter to be chosen in his place. As this matter of Presiding Bishop has been much misunderstood, a concise history of it is given at this point.

In the General Convention of 1789, Bishop White was the only bishop present. He signed the minutes of its proceedings as President of the *Convention*. At the adjourned meeting, held in October of the same year, Bishops Seabury and White were present, and the former signed the minutes as *President*. At this session, a rule was adopted by the bishops to the effect that thereafter the senior bishop present should be the President, seniority dating from the letters of consecration.

In 1792 this rule was rescinded, and it was ordered that "the office of President of this House shall be held in rotation, beginning from the North; reference being had to the Presidency of this House in the last Convention." In pursuance of this action, Bishop Provoost presided, and signed the minutes as President. This course was followed until 1804, when

¹ Perry's Reprints of General Convention Journals, vol. i. p. 640.

the original rule was re-enacted. It has ever since remained in force, with the additional provision adopted in 1889, by which a Chairman may be elected by the House of Bishops, who shall discharge such duties as may be devolved upon him by the Presiding Bishop.

In the General Convention of 1795, Bishop White, by the rule last adopted, presided, signing himself *Presiding Bishop*. This seems to be the first time that this title was used. At the special Convention of 1799, in the absence of the bishop whose turn it was, Bishop White presided, and his signature again was *Presiding Bishop*.

In the Constitution as adopted in 1789, there was no mention made of the *Presiding Bishop*; but a provision was inserted to the effect that, until there were three or more bishops (this number being necessary to form a separate House), any bishop attending General Convention should be a member *ex officio*, and should vote with the clerical deputies of his State, and that a bishop should preside.

In the Constitution as revised in 1841, the term "Presiding Bishop" is employed; but neither in the Constitution nor in the Canons is there any method prescribed for his appointment or that of his successor. This matter is left entirely to such regulations as the House of Bishops may, from time to time, see fit to adopt. It has happened in several instances that the bishops of the smallest dioceses have been Presiding Bishops.

The duties of the office are such as may be deter-

mined upon by the House of Bishops. As a general rule, they have consisted of presiding at their meetings, taking order for the consecration of bishops, acting as the medium of communication between the American Church and other organisations, and filling temporarily such vacancies as may occur in the Episcopate of missionary jurisdictions.

It was at the General Convention of 1792 that for the first time Lay Delegates were present from Connecticut and Rhode Island, the latter diocese now giving its formal assent to the Constitution. North Carolina sent a delegate, who arrived after the adjournment, having been detained by contrary winds. In the adoption of the ordinal, Bishop Seabury endeavoured to have, at the ordination of priests, but a single form, as in the English Prayer-Book, but at length "with great reluctance," Bishop White says, consented to the addition of an alternative form, as now in use.

Domestic missions occupied the attention of the Convention, its members now beginning to realise the already immense territory for which the Church was responsible, and the spiritual destitution of her members living on the frontiers. Measures to supply this want were proposed, including the preaching of an annual sermon on the subject, the obtaining of funds, and the employment of missionaries. The furtherance of these plans was intrusted to the Bishop of Pennsylvania, and a Standing Committee appointed by the Convention.

Because of the embargo laid upon travellers by the government, on account of epidemic disease, no dele-

gates from New England attended the General Convention of 1795, which was held in Philadelphia. It witnessed a strong movement towards the increase of the Episcopate. In one case, however, the effort in that direction failed of success. The Rev. Samuel Peters, D.D., was elected, in 1794, Bishop of Vermont. Dr. Bass, then rector of Newburyport, Massachusetts, had been chosen to this see in September 1793, but his acceptance of the election was conditioned upon his being required to give only temporary visitations until a proper support should be secured for him "by the increase of the lands." This had virtually been the understanding of the Convention when he was elected, and he, no doubt, would have been duly consecrated, except for the schemes of some of Dr. Peters's friends, and of his son-in-law, Colonel Jarvis. They secured the calling of a special Convention in the spring of 1794, persuaded its members that it would be much better at once to secure a resident bishop, and assured them that Dr. Peters had means of his own, or, as his wealthy son-in-law expressed it, "a salary which he could bring with him."¹ The Convention was a very small one, only one or two clergymen being present, and representatives from less than half of all the parishes. Under the manipulation of artful men,² and much to the discredit of the Convention, so far as its treatment of Dr. Bass is concerned, Dr. Peters was elected.

¹ He had left America on account of the war, and was then residing in England.

² See "Historical Review of the First Century of the Church in Vermont," by the Rev. A. H. Bailey, D.D., at p. 304 of the Journal of the Convention of 1890.

Instead of applying to the American bishops, the diocesan officials requested the Archbishop of Canterbury to consecrate Dr. Peters. This he declined to do on various grounds, one of them being his unwillingness to do anything whereby he might invade the rights of, and offend, the College of Bishops in America. For the same reason, the Scotch bishops declined to have anything to do with the matter. The French Minister of Foreign Affairs was then consulted as to the likelihood of obtaining consecration from bishops of his country. These expressed themselves as ready to grant the request, provided the candidate believed "all the articles that the French priests believe, especially about the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist."

It was after this futile attempt that the General Convention of 1795 was asked by a Convention of the Diocese, which then contained only one clergyman and twelve laymen, to take order for the consecration. This they declined to do, giving as a reason for their refusal, that Vermont had not yet acceded to the General Constitution of the American Church. Bishop White says, "There were, besides, some personal circumstances which prevented the paying of much respect to the solicitation." This was the last heard of Dr. Peters in this connection, except a letter from him to a friend of his in New Hampshire, in which he subscribes himself "S. P., Bp.-elect of Nil."

Another request for consecration, that from South Carolina, in favour of the Rev. Robert Smith, D.D., was received with suspicion on the part of some

members of the Convention. For, as it may be remembered, this was the diocese which entered into the general compact on the condition that it should not be obliged to receive a bishop, and it was feared that the request now made was not a wholly ingenuous one. However, there being no valid objection raised, Dr. Smith was duly consecrated, Bishops White, Provoost, Madison, and Claggett uniting in the act.

That the suspicion against South Carolina in this connection was not wholly groundless, may be inferred from the fact that, although Bishop Smith lived until 1801, there is reason to believe that he never administered Confirmation. Again, there was a vacancy in the Episcopate for eleven years after his death, and it was not until 1813 that we have any knowledge of Confirmation being administered in the diocese. This was by Bishop Dehon in S. Michael's Church, Charleston.

Partly too, perhaps, for another reason this same diocese was unrepresented in the General Convention until 1814. This other reason has to do with the strange conduct of one of its deputies to the Convention whose proceedings we are now considering. Attention had been publicly called, by the Rev. Dr. Andrews of Pennsylvania, to a pamphlet recently issued, entitled, "Strictures on the Love of Power in the Prelacy, by a Member of the Protestant Episcopal Association¹ in the State of South Carolina." The

¹ The employment of this term shows how little the true nature of the Church was appreciated.

Pennsylvania delegate spoke of it as "a violent attack upon the doctrine and discipline of our Church." He also alluded to those portions which were generally esteemed to constitute a libel upon Bishop Seabury. Bishop White styles it "personal abuse in a licentious pamphlet," and says that it was based upon the presumption that Bishop Seabury was the author of a defence of the Episcopal veto, which, in fact, was generally known to have been written by some one else. The matter was thought grave enough to be considered in a committee of the whole, at whose instigation the House of Deputies adopted a resolution in which it was declared that the pamphlet contained "very censurable and offensive matter." Its writer, the Rev. Henry Purcell, D.D., of Charleston, South Carolina, was (under fear of expulsion) apparently convinced of the error he had committed, and made what was deemed a sufficient apology. But no sooner had the Convention adjourned than he challenged Dr. Andrews to fight a duel. This led to his arrest by the civil authority, by whom he was bound over to keep the peace. Duelling continued for many years afterwards to be considered, among many otherwise reputable people, a justifiable method of settling personal differences, however much the law was opposed to it. In 1839 an English writer gives an account of a sermon which he heard in Baltimore on the evils of this practice, and for at least ten years afterwards it was the subject for discussion in many a debating society. Happily, it has now been almost entirely extirpated from the country, and when at all resorted

to is denounced by the really respectable portion of the community.¹

The Church in North Carolina asked at the same Convention for the consecration as their bishop of the Rev. Charles Pettigrew, who had been elected at a convention in Tarboro, 1795. He left his home to receive the office, but was prevented from arriving in time by an epidemic raging in Virginia. He had accepted his election reluctantly, on account of his frail health, and it is altogether likely that he himself was one of the fever's victims, as no later account of him is to be found. He was a man of liberal education, of great zeal and devotion in behalf of both the Church and the State, and withal very generous in his gifts. A letter to his sons in college was printed, and was much admired as a portraiture of the Christian gentleman.

Not many months after the adjournment of the Convention, Bishop Seabury died. He had been busily engaged in a round of visitations during the autumn, and afterwards had been equally zealous in discharging his parochial duties. Some few tokens of failing health had been noticed, but no particular uneasiness was felt concerning him. He was eating supper at the house of one of his wardens (the father-in-law of his son Charles), when he was taken with an apoplectic fit, and died within a few minutes. This was on February 25, 1796, in the sixty-seventh year of his age. He was first buried in the public cemetery of New London, but in 1849 his remains were removed

¹ See p. 204.

to a crypt expressly built for this purpose, under the chancel of the new church in that city, a handsome monument being at the same time erected there to his memory.

His character and services have been already set forth somewhat in detail in the records of that period wherein he was so prominent and so honoured an actor. Suffice it to say that it is difficult to over-estimate the value of his services to the infant Church. He was a man of pronounced views, without any disposition to haughtiness,¹ and of real simplicity of life.² His love for the Church in all its integrity dominated him through life, and it is to this unselfish love for her that we owe not a little in her recent era of prosperity. As long as her records are preserved, his name will stand in the very forefront of her worthies and greatest benefactors. We may safely adopt the eulogy pronounced by Bishop Williams in his Convention sermon of 1885, during the Seabury Centenary: "Strong in faith, patient in hope, humble and self-sacrificing in charity, he stands out as a man that had understand-

¹ He rode over his diocese on horseback, or in a sulky. On one occasion, a country lad who had been curious to see a bishop in his church attire, and attended a service when he officiated, was asked by one of his neighbours if the bishop seemed proud. "Proud? Bless you, no," he replied. "Why, he preached in his shirt-sleeves." He occasionally wore a mitre, which is now in the library of Trinity College, and which he adopted as a badge of office not likely to be worn by Dissenters who styled themselves bishops. Bishop Claggett of Maryland also at times wore a mitre.

² His income during his episcopate was very slender. In conformity with its constitution, the S.P.G., after the declaration of peace, withdrew his and all other American stipends. Some of his English friends, including the learned Dr. Horne, then Dean of Canterbury, sent him until his death £50 annually.

ing of the times to know what Israel ought to do ; as a builder able to revive the stones out of the rubbish which was burned ; as a wise ruler who fed those over whom the Holy Ghost had made him an overseer, according to the integrity of his heart, and guided them by the skilfulness of his hands."

At his death, his son, the Rev. Charles Seabury, succeeded him in the rectorship of S. James's Church, New London.¹ His grandson, the Rev. Samuel Seabury, D.D., was a prominent and influential clergyman in New York, being for many years rector of the Church of the Annunciation in that city, and afterwards Professor of Biblical Learning and Interpretation of Scripture in the General Theological Seminary, in which institution his son² (the Rev. W. J. Seabury, D.D.) is Professor of Ecclesiastical Polity and Law, having also succeeded him as rector of his parish in New York. As editor of the *Churchman*, in a time, too, of much controversy, Dr. Samuel Seabury rendered valiant service to the Church, and was the means of quieting and edifying many souls. He was among the best theological scholars of his day.

One more General Convention was held before the close of the century at Philadelphia, in 1799. It was prevented from meeting, according to agreement, in the previous year by another dangerous epidemic. There

¹ The Rev. Abraham Jarvis was elected to succeed him in the Episcopate, but declined ; whereupon the Rev. John Bowden, D.D., was chosen. He also declined, on account of his feeble health, and Mr. Jarvis was again elected and finally accepted.

² Thus the fifth clergyman in as many successive generations of the Seabury family.

were present, from eight dioceses, nineteen clergymen and ten laymen. Bishop Seabury's successor (the Right Rev. Abraham Jarvis, D.D.) was there, as also Bishop Bass, of Massachusetts.

A few facts in regard to the latter prelate may be given at this point. He had been elected to the Episcopate in the summer of 1789 by the clergy of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, and we have already seen¹ what action was taken concerning this election by the General Convention of 1789. By the time that there were three bishops of English consecration, Dr.² Bass had withdrawn his acceptance of the election. In 1796 he was again chosen Bishop of Massachusetts, and was consecrated in Christ Church, Philadelphia, on May 7, 1797, by Bishops White, Provoost, and Claggett. In addition to his labours in Massachusetts, he exercised supervision for a while over the few churches in Rhode Island and New Hampshire. He assisted Bishops White and Provoost in the consecration of Bishop Jarvis, in Trinity Church, New York, on S. Luke's Day, 1799.

Although the Convention of 1799 (held in Philadelphia) continued in session eight days, there was but little important business transacted. The Articles of Religion were again under consideration, but final action in regard to them was postponed. A resolution declaring unnecessary any other articles of faith and religion than those founded upon Holy Scripture and

¹ *Supra*, p. 163.

² The University of Pennsylvania conferred the degree of D.D. upon him in 1789.

declared in the Creeds and Liturgy was lost. Some excitement prevailed in the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies during the discussion of the Rev. Dr. Uzal Ogden's¹ election to the Episcopate by the Convention of New Jersey. It was alleged that there was not the canonically requisite number of clergymen voting in the election, and on this ground action on its confirmation was postponed. The members of the Convention seem to have been glad to have the opportunity in this way of preventing his consecration, inasmuch as he was considered "as being more attached to the doctrines and the practices obtaining in some other churches than to those of his own."² His subsequent conduct furnished ample warrant for this suspicion. The New Jersey Convention reaffirmed his election, and took steps to secure his consecration, but the next General Convention declined to recommend him. Some of his adherents talked at one time of applying to the Scottish bishops. In 1804 the General Convention was memorialised on the subject of difficulties which had arisen between himself and his congregation, but no action was taken. The matter was then brought before a special Convention in New Jersey, at which time he withdrew himself from the American Church, and, as already noted, declared his intention of officiating under his English license. Thereupon he was suspended from the exercise of his ministry in New Jersey, and we read of his afterwards ministering, until his death, among the Presbyterians.

In the final year of the century, there was a

¹ See p. 19.

² White's "Memoirs," p. 178.

very significant conference at Weathersfield, Vermont, between Churchmen and Congregationalists, as to worshipping together in public. Committees from both bodies discussed the matter in a very friendly spirit. The Church thus instructed her committee: "The orders we give to our committee is (*sic*) as follows, viz.: that the standing order will agree that the Preast shall be ordained by the Bishop—we will agree with the standing order in sitting a preast." This, however, did not suit the Congregationalists, and it was finally agreed to refer the matter to the Bishop of Massachusetts, Dr. Bass. His answer cannot be found, but its character may be inferred from the fact that the union was not effected. It is interesting to observe how these early Churchmen clung to the historic Episcopate.¹

¹ See the "Centennial Convention Journal of Vermont," 1890, pp. 309, 310.

CHAPTER X

A PERIOD OF SLOW AND GRADUAL GROWTH

The General Convention of 1801—Bishop Provoost's resignation, and action upon it—Articles of Religion adopted—Efforts for a new diocese in the West—Proposition to elect a layman to the Episcopate—Consecration of Bishop Parker—General Convention of 1804—The Rev. Ammi Rogers—The General Convention of 1808—Duelling and Divorce—The Degrees of Affinity—The General Convention of 1811—Lay Baptism—Bishop Kemp and a proposed independent Church—General Convention of 1817—A Standard Bible—Public grants of money, and lotteries—Founding of the General Theological Seminary—The Rev. Richard Mansfield—General Convention of 1823—Communicants as Lay Delegates—Lay Readers—General Convention of 1826—Questions involved in the election of Bishops Meade and M'Ilvaine—General Convention of 1835—Election of Domestic Missionary Bishops.

THE Church at the beginning of the nineteenth century was but ill-equipped for the work which lay before her. There were scarcely more than two hundred clergymen, including seven bishops. When the General Convention of 1801 assembled in Trenton, New Jersey, only seven States were represented, by nineteen clerical and nine lay delegates. The bishops apparently showed no greater interest in its proceedings, four out of the seven being absent. In all likelihood, Bishop Bass was detained at home by illness. This was the reason assigned by Bishop Provoost for his own absence. On that account

partly,¹ he had resigned his office at the last Convention of New York, an announcement of which fact he made in a communication addressed to Bishop White. This communication was laid before the House of Bishops, who subsequently declared that they could see "no grounds on which to believe that the contemplated resignation is consistent with ecclesiastical order, or with the practice of Episcopal Churches in any ages, or with the tenor of the Office of Consecration." While they thus declined to recognise his act as an effectual resignation, they expressed tender sympathy with him in his afflictions. They also declared their willingness to consecrate any fit person with proper testimonials to be an assistant or coadjutor-bishop, under such regulations as might, with Bishop Provoost's concurrence, be adopted by the Church in New York. The Rev. Benjamin Moore, D.D., rector of Trinity Church, New York, was, in accordance with this understanding, consecrated on the third day of the session. Thus it was decided to be unlawful for a diocesan bishop to resign his jurisdiction, but permanent disability was allowed to be a sufficient reason for granting an assistant.

At this Convention, the consideration of the Articles of Religion was resumed, and they were finally adopted substantially as found in the English Book. A few alterations were made, owing to the change in the civil government: the reading of the

¹ In addition to this reason, he adduces "some melancholy occurrences" in his family, and "an ardent wish to retire from all public employment."

Homilies¹ was suspended until a revision of them could be effected which should clear them of obsolete words and local references; and all allusion to the Athanasian Creed was omitted. The Twenty-First Article was also wholly omitted, "because it is partly of a local and also civil nature, and is provided for, as to the remaining parts of it, in other articles. In place of the Thirty-Ninth Article the following was substituted:—

"OF THE POWER OF THE CIVIL MAGISTRATE.

"The power of the civil magistrate extendeth to all men, as well Clergy as Laity, in all things temporal, but hath no authority in things purely spiritual.² And we hold it to be the duty of all men who are professors of the Gospel to pay respectful obedience to the civil authority, regularly and legitimately constituted."

On the general question, there had been from time to time expressions of opinion on the part of not a few (Bishops Seabury, Provoost, and Madison included) that no Articles were needed in addition to what was already to be found in the Prayer-Book. In reply, it was urged that, unless there were some explicit declarations by the Church, individual ministers might be the more likely to teach on some subjects what would be contrary to her doctrines. Bishop

¹ In regard to the Article on the Homilies, this note was made: "This Article is received in this Church so far as it declares the Books of Homilies to be an explication of Christian doctrine, and instructive in piety and morals."

² Let us thankfully note herein the freedom of the American Church from all charge of Erastianism. See also a similar declaration on p. 182.

White would not allow that the Articles were favourable to Calvinism, and in regard to the alterations made by the Convention he says: "The object kept in view, in all consultations held, and the determinations formed, was the perpetuating of the Episcopal Church on the ground of the general principles which she had inherited from the Church of England; and of not departing from them, except so far as local circumstances required, or some very important cause rendered proper. To those acquainted with the system of the Church of England, it must be evident that the object here stated was accomplished on the ratification of the Articles."¹

It was not considered necessary to require a specific subscription to the Articles, because of the declaration of belief in the doctrines of the Church already prescribed in the Constitution.

In the Convention of 1801, a resolution was offered by the Rev. Dr. Isaac Wilkins, of New York,² providing that the lay delegates to all such Conventions should be communicants of at least one year's standing.³ It was lost by the following vote: Clergy—Connecticut and New York, *Aye*; New Jersey,

¹ White's "Memoirs," p. 33. Also pp. 179 *sqq.*

² This clergyman was a man of much note. While a layman, he took a leading part in the political discussions that preceded the War of the Revolution, which caused his exile in 1775. The British Government conferred on him a life annuity of £125. He was ordained deacon in 1798, and priest in 1801, when he became rector of S. Peter's Church, West Chester, New York.

³ This requirement was subsequently inserted in the Constitution, and is now in force so far as the General Convention is concerned. It also forms one of the qualifications for sitting in many Diocesan Conventions. See page 208.

Pennsylvania, Delaware, Massachusetts, and Maryland, *No.* Laity—New York, *Aye*; Connecticut, Delaware, and Maryland, *No.*

About this same time, the clergy of Virginia and of the western part of Pennsylvania assembled at Washington, Pennsylvania, under the leadership of the Rev. Joseph Doddridge, M.D. Among other plans which they discussed having in view the growth and prosperity of the Church, was the creation for that section of a new and independent diocese. (A similar effort was made in 1842, but Bishop Onderdonk did not approve of it.) They felt very much discouraged that their appeals to Bishop White for aid were in vain. In the lack of proper means of transportation and of pecuniary means, he found it very difficult to supply the wants of the large territory committed to his care.¹

In many parts of the country, the Church was undoubtedly very weak and almost "ready to vanish away." Yet in other parts there were many signs of vitality and growth. For example, in 1809 at Swedesboro, New Jersey, 184 persons were baptized and 251 confirmed.

In the early period of this century, a very unusual and noteworthy event occurred in connection with the vacancy caused by the death of Bishop Bass. This worthy prelate died on September 10, 1803. Shortly afterwards, the Rev. Dr. Dehon (later on, Bishop of

¹ It was not until 1825 that he visited the western part of his diocese. He was then accompanied by the Rev. Jackson Kemper, who himself became subsequently one of the most laborious missionary bishops.

South Carolina) waited upon a distinguished layman, Dudley Atkins Tyng,¹ then of Newburyport, Massachusetts, and a lawyer by profession, and, on behalf of the clergy of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, desired him "to receive orders as Deacon and Priest, that they might with as little delay as possible elect him their Bishop." Judge Tyng expressed his profound thanks for this remarkable evidence of their regard, but resolutely declined the proffered honour.² This incident stands alone in the history of the American Church, but we are at once reminded of a similar one in the fourth century, when, very much to the advantage of the whole Church, S. Ambrose was chosen Bishop of Milan.

At the time of the General Convention (New York) in 1804, September 16, the Rev. Dr. Samuel Parker, rector of Trinity Church, Boston, was consecrated as the successor of Bishop Bass. He had preached the funeral sermon of Bishop Bass, and ere he had performed a single episcopal act this same duty was performed in his behalf. He died December 6, after the briefest episcopate in the American Church. His qualifications for his high office were varied and considerable, and much regret was expressed at his unexpected decease.

Because of less likelihood of epidemics at that season of the year, the month of May was chosen for the sessions of the General Convention. (Subse-

¹ He was the father of an eminent clergyman, the Rev. Stephen H. Tyng, D.D., of whom fuller mention will be made hereafter.

² See "Life of the Rev. Stephen H. Tyng, D.D.," p. 21.

quently, October was finally selected.) At this same Convention (1804) the Office of Induction¹ was adopted. This office was almost identical with one for the same purpose which had been prepared by the Rev. William Smith, D.D., rector of S. Paul's Church, Norwalk, Connecticut,² and had been adopted by the bishop and clergy of that diocese.

A Course of Ecclesiastical Studies for Students in Theology was prescribed by the House of Bishops, which remained in force for nearly a century.

This Convention had to deal with a singular case of discipline. One Ammi Rogers, a native of Connecticut and a graduate of Yale College, was desirous of entering the ministry. Bishop Seabury did not favour this project, and Rogers removed to some retired part of New York, where he made application to Bishop Provoost. For the purpose of overcoming the objections raised to his ordination on account of his former rejection, he forged a testimonial in his behalf, bearing the name of the Rev. Philo Perry, secretary of the Convention of Connecticut. Upon the strength of this document, he was ordained by the Bishop of New York. On his returning to Connecticut, he was discovered by the bishop and other clergy of that diocese, and inhibited from officiating. He proved refractory, and his case was brought to the

¹ The title of this office was altered to that of "Institution," in 1808, at which time some alterations in it were adopted, and its use made voluntary.

² This clergyman was nephew to the eminent divine of the same name (of Maryland) to whom reference has already been made. He himself was a man of decided ability and culture.

notice of the House of Bishops, who were asked to determine the question as to the authority to which he was amenable. For want of legislation affecting the removal of clergymen from one diocese to another, they decided that he was answerable to the diocese of Connecticut. They further pronounced him deserving of degradation from the ministry. To this latter decision, objection was raised on the ground that the trying of the case and any passing of sentence that might grow out of it belonged of right to the diocese. The canons passed at this Convention made future action of this objectionable kind impracticable.¹

Interest in Church matters grew but slowly. At the General Convention of 1808, held in Baltimore, there were but two bishops present, and only seven dioceses were represented, with fourteen clerical deputies and thirteen laymen. No clergyman attended from New Jersey, and no layman from Rhode Island. Such a meagre representation prompted "a solemn and affectionate address to the Churches," in which were urged the propriety, necessity, and duty of sending regularly a deputation to the Convention.

To mark its disapprobation of the habit of duelling, the Convention adopted a resolution in which it was declared, that the clergy ought not to perform the

¹ In various ways and at different times, Mr. Rogers, with the utmost pertinacity and effrontery, continued to press his claims for recognition. Eventually, he was convicted of a crime against the civil law and imprisoned. When released, he found himself with but few friends. He died in 1852.

funeral service in the case of any person who should give or accept the challenge.¹

It is gratifying to observe, that at this early period the Church clearly pronounced judgment in the matter of the remarriage of divorced persons, forbidding such unions except in the case of the innocent party where adultery had been committed. An effort was made to obtain a formal sanction and promulgation of the Table of Degrees of Affinity enforced in the Church of England. The House of Bishops declared that table to be obligatory on the American Church, and recommended that the whole subject should be more fully considered at a subsequent Convention.²

Before adjourning, the amendment to the Constitution by which an absolute negative upon legislative proceedings was given to the House of Bishops was adopted. Thus was ended a dispute, always amiably conducted, that had existed for some time concerning episcopal prerogatives.

The Convention of 1811, held in Trinity Church, New Haven, assembled under rather discouraging circumstances. The condition of the Church in

¹ In the following General Convention (1811), an exception to this rule was allowed where evidence should be given of sincere repentance.

² The matter was referred to a committee of bishops, of whom Bishop White was chairman. From what is styled "a projected report," which does not, however, appear to have been presented, we infer that its conclusions were in favour of the table. But while they would have prevented a clergyman from celebrating marriages within the forbidden degrees, they were against repelling from the Holy Communion such persons as might marry a brother's wife or a wife's sister, a husband's brother or a sister's husband. The disapproval by the Church of such marriages is said to be "because of temptations to sin in the allowance of them." See "*Life of Bishop White*," pp. 343-346.

Maryland was declared to be "deplorable," while as to Virginia, the fear was expressed that there was "danger of her total ruin, unless great exertions, favoured by the blessing of Providence, are employed to raise her." Dr. Hobart and Dr. Griswold were awaiting consecration, but only two bishops were in attendance. Bishops Claggett, Moore, and Provoost were ill, and Bishop Madison felt himself restrained by his oath from leaving his college. The thought was entertained of having recourse again to England, but finally, after the adjournment of the Convention, Bishop Provoost was able to assist in New York at the consecration. Bishop Hobart became his co-adjutor, with the right of succession, and Bishop Griswold went to what was known as the Eastern Diocese, which comprised the States of New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island.

An incident in connection with this consecration attracted for a while a great deal of attention, and elicited a widespread discussion. The presiding bishop (Pennsylvania) inadvertently and unconsciously omitted in the imposition of hands the words "In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." It was alleged that the consecration was invalid, not only because of the supposed essential nature of the words themselves, but also because of their being a part of the prescribed form. As to the former objection, it was answered that prominence is given to the doctrine of the Trinity throughout the service. As to the latter, it was argued that no precise words were essential, and that the Invocation

was not to be found in the Primitive Church, nor in the Ordinal of the Church of England until the reign of Charles II., and that the Roman Pontifical did not contain it.

An effort was made at this time to draw forth from the General Convention some authoritative declaration as to the validity of Lay-Baptism. The matter, however, was passed over informally.

About this same period, there was manifested a desire to improve the musical portions of public services. This was shown in the request not only for an additional number of hymns, but also for the setting forth by some authority of proper music for them and for the canticles. It is not surprising that the matter was not taken up with much ardour, when we reflect upon the amount of prejudice with which even later generations had to contend, as they sought to introduce more chanting and singing into church-worship. As an illustration of the lack of regard paid to the fitness of things accompanying such worship, it may be added that it was not until 1814 that a celebration of the Holy Communion was provided for the sessions of the General Convention.

The condition of Bishop Claggett's¹ health required

¹ In giving an account of his ordination to the priesthood and of the consecration of S. Paul's Church, Alexandria, by Bishop Claggett, Bishop Meade narrates an incident which gives us some definite idea of the former prelate. "Putting on his robes and his mitre at some distance from the church, he had to go along the street to reach it. This attracted the attention of a number of boys and others, who ran after and alongside of him, admiring his peculiar dress and gigantic stature. His voice was as extraordinary for strength and ungovernableness as was his stature for size, and as he entered the door of the church, where the

that he should have an assistant, and in September 1814 the Rev. James Kemp, D.D., was chosen Suffragan-Bishop of Maryland. He had scarcely been consecrated before some disaffected clergymen (calling themselves "Evangelicals") decided to secede and establish an independent Episcopal Church. They sought the aid of Bishop Provoost, who had resigned the diocese of New York, and whose claims to jurisdiction there were not recognised, Bishop Benjamin Moore having really succeeded to the office of diocesan. He was approached by means of flattery by the Maryland clergymen, who agreed, if he would consent to consecrate a bishop for them, that during Bishop Claggett's lifetime no episcopal act should be performed by their leader. The proposal reached Bishop Provoost when he was very ill, and it is not known what, if any, answer was returned by him. It is not believed that he would have done anything but scorn this suggestion of schism, however so boldly and speciously made.¹

The malcontents next waited upon Bishop Claggett, declared that they would never receive Dr. Kemp as their bishop, and urged him to consecrate one of their own number (Mr. Dashiell); but their arguments proved unavailing. The Eastern Shore was assigned

people were in silence awaiting, and the first words of the service burst forth from his lips in his most peculiar manner, a young lady turning around suddenly and seeing his huge form and uncommon appearance, was so convulsed that she was obliged to be taken from the church." — "Old Churches, Ministers, and Families of Virginia."

¹ Bishop Provoost was a very scholarly man, and, however peculiar in some of his actions, was not at all likely to go contrary to his intellectual convictions concerning the order of the Church.

to the suffragan, who laboured there diligently and acceptably. The Rev. George Dashiell (rector of S. Peter's Church, Baltimore, and a preacher of considerable reputation) was the chief conspirator, and was finally deposed from the ministry. This, however, did not deter him from undertaking to establish what he called *The Evangelical Episcopal Church*, under whose auspices he assumed the functions of a bishop, as for example in ordaining ministers. Three of the regular clergy adhered to him, and were likewise deposed. The sect died out on Mr. Dashiell's removal from Maryland, in 1826. It may be noted as rather a strange coincidence that one of Mr. Dashiell's successors in the rectorship of S. Peter's parish, the Rev. Dr. G. D. Cummins, was the originator of what is styled *The Reformed Episcopal Church*.

By the time the General Convention met in 1817 (at New York), the condition of the Church had become in almost every diocese decidedly more encouraging. From the tone of the reports made, it is evident that her members were now becoming more hopeful as to her future, and, from the legislation, that they were more alive to the responsibility resting upon them to provide for her inevitable growth. Steps were taken for the establishment of a Theological Seminary for the Church at large, and for occupying the Western territories more fully. An effort was made in the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies to obtain a specific condemnation by the Convention of certain forms of amusement, but the House finally declared that complete provision for the purposes of

Christian discipline in such cases already existed "in the Constitution, Canons, Rubrics, Homilies, and Liturgy of the Church." The delegate who most persistently moved the Convention to action in this matter was Francis S. Key, who, although quite a young man, was a Lay Deputy from Maryland, and had already become famous as the author of "The Star-spangled Banner."

It was at this same Convention that the House of Bishops was unsuccessfully requested to specify some edition of the Bible which might be considered standard. This request was made because of the circulation of a large edition in which the third verse of the sixth chapter of the Acts was made to read, "whom ye may appoint over this business." In 1823, the General Convention adopted as the standard edition that published in 1812 by Eyre and Strahan, London, which, however, soon became scarce and unobtainable. Afterwards, preference was expressed for an Oxford edition of 1852. Steps were taken to ensure the correction of all typographical errors, and it was hoped at one time that a standard edition might be published with the joint imprimatur of the Church of England. This, however, was found to be impracticable. In 1892, it was proposed in the General Convention that the authorities of the University of Oxford should be asked to print an edition with a title-page indicating that it was the Standard of the American Church.

As showing the friendliness of the civil government to religious societies, it may be noted that in 1817 the State of Connecticut recovered from the United States

the sum of \$61,500 for expenses incurred in the war with Great Britain from 1812 to 1815. The General Assembly voted to give the amount so recovered to the different Christian denominations in the State, in proportion to their numerical strength. The Congregationalists, being still "the Standing Order," received the largest share. The other bodies were classed as "the Episcopalians and the minor sects." The trustees of the Bishop's Fund asked and received the share—one-seventh of the whole amount—allotted to the Church.

It may also be added that in 1820 the General Assembly made a lottery grant to the same Board of Trustees, in commutation of a claim which the fund had on a bank bonus paid to the State in obtaining its charter, and pledged by the petitioners for the bank to the benefit of that fund. From this source a sum of a little more than \$7000 was received. An amount nearly equal to it was afterwards lost by the failure of another bank in whose stock the trustees had invested it.

Further evidence of the changed attitude towards the Church was given in 1818, when an invitation was extended by the Governor of Connecticut, Oliver Wolcott, to the Rev. Harry Crosswell,¹ rector of Trinity Church, New Haven, to preach the Election Sermon before the General Assembly at Hartford. It was the clergy of the same diocese who, on the accession of the elder Adams to the Presidency (1797), sent him an address in which they expressed their attach-

¹ See p. 213.

ment to the national government and their approval of the measures adopted by its constituted authorities.

The first Special General Convention was held in Philadelphia, October 1821, and is chiefly memorable from the fact that by its action in accepting a legacy of \$50,000 from the estate of Jacob Sherred the General Theological Seminary was really founded, with its home in the city of New York, upon ground generously given by Clement C. Moore, Esq.¹ This measure was effected by a consolidation of the two seminaries then existing in New York and New Haven. The only strenuous opposition to it came from Virginia, whose deputies were anxious to found some such institution in connection with William and Mary College. Their wishes were subsequently realised in the establishment of the seminary which is located in the neighbourhood of Alexandria. They further expressed a fear lest New York should gain an undue share of influence in the management of the proposed institution. There was also in the minds of some an idea that it would be better for the General Convention to be free from the oversight of such matters, leaving them entirely to the various localities where these institutions might be desired. Bishop White's views were decidedly in this direction, as may be seen by his notes on the proceedings of the Convention.²

¹ This liberal benefactor of the Seminary—he gave sixty city lots, which have since become very valuable—was afterwards professor at Hebrew there. His name will ever be dear to children especially, as the author of the popular Christmas ballad, "Twas the night before Christmas." He was the son of the Bishop of New York.

² See p. 202 pp.

The Dissenters could not bear with equanimity the growing influence of the Church, despite her yet comparatively small numbers. Among the many attacks made upon her at this time was one published (in 1820) by a Congregationalist under the assumed name of a "Consistent Churchman." In this pamphlet the most extravagant and uncharitable claims were made, ostensibly on behalf of the Church. With those who believed that it was a genuine publication, considerable harm was done. The Rev. Dr. Harry Croswell—himself a convert from Congregationalism, a devoted son of the Church, and father of his more distinguished son, the Rev. William Croswell, D.D., for many years the beloved rector of the Church of the Advent, Boston—discovered the fraud that had been perpetrated, and wrote an effective reply, entitled "A sober appeal to the Christian Public."

It was about this time that one of the most notable of the older clergy died—the Rev. Richard Mansfield, D.D., who at his decease (in 1820) was in his ninety-seventh year. Born a Congregationalist, he was led by the exhortations consequent upon Whitefield's itineracy to investigate the claims of the Church, to which before long he conformed. He graduated from Yale College with distinction, and immediately upon his ordination, in 1748, assumed a position of much influence. He was the first clergyman of the Church upon whom Yale conferred the degree of Doctor of Divinity. His entrance into the Church had been protested against most vigorously by his whole family. His sister, on hearing that he had sailed

for England to be ordained, prayed that he might be lost at sea. He came back with an appointment to the cure of Derby, Connecticut. Here he continued to labour until his death, for a period—still unequalled in America as to continuous incumbency—of seventy-two years.¹ In eulogising him at a recent service in which his ministry was especially commemorated, the Bishop of Connecticut spoke of him as a man who eschewed evil, and to whom the entire description of the country parson in Goldsmith's "Deserted Village" might fairly be applied.

At the General Convention held at Philadelphia in May 1823, Georgia was admitted, and the first Bishop of North Carolina (the Right Rev. John Stark Ravenscroft, D.D.) was consecrated.² The attention of the bishops was again drawn by the Bishop of Ohio (the Right Rev. Dr. Philander Chase) to the advisability of requiring all lay delegates to the Convention to be communicants.³ Answer was made to the effect that while such a requirement was desirable, it was not deemed at the present time expedient. It was pointed out that such an obligation in the earlier history of the American Church would have effectually prevented any degree of representation, and, further, that in the only diocese where it had been enacted it had recently been

¹ The Rev. George Meiklejohn, of Virginia, died about the same time, at the age of more than a hundred years.

² This prelate (1772-1830), who at one time belonged to what were known as the "Republican Methodists," was a very forcible and popular preacher, and through his sermons exerted a strong influence in behalf of the Church.

³ See p. 194.

repealed. Some prejudice against it had arisen by reason of the operation of the Test Oath measures in England.

The endorsement of the Convention was sought for the Colonisation Society, which precipitated a discussion (altogether amiable, it would appear) of the questions which afterwards bore upon the most critical periods of the nation's history. In the Convention, the ground was taken that the matter was rather political than religious. Although the Society's claims were warmly advocated by the Virginia delegates, there were those in the Northern States who thought its object was not so much the diminution of the evils of slavery as the deportation to Africa of the negroes already free.

The Church now began to feel sufficiently her strength and responsibility to consider the necessity of providing some academic and collegiate institutions, where her youth might be educated under her authority and influence. A joint committee on the subject was appointed, but their deliberations do not seem to have produced any immediate fruit, unless, indeed, the opening in 1824 of Washington (afterwards Trinity) College at Hartford, Connecticut, may be in part accredited to them.¹

In the report to this Convention on behalf of the diocese of Massachusetts, it is said that during the year 1823 an attempt had been made so to alter the charter of the parish at Marblehead as to convert it into an Independent or Congregational society. The

¹ See pp. 307, 308.

affairs of the parish had been in a depressed condition ever since the time of the Revolution, but this attempt on the part of Dissenters roused the latent energy of the Churchmen, and led to the immediate calling of a missionary.¹

In Cambridge, the parish had also languished greatly from the same period. The services were maintained chiefly by lay readers, who were resident graduates of Harvard; but at length, owing to the ruinous condition of the church-building, public worship came to an end. In 1823, Churchmen numbered one-seventh of all the undergraduates. They were not allowed to go to church in Boston, but were compelled to attend the worship of the college chapel, although the President of the University expressed his desire to see the church repaired and reopened.

Large numbers of English Church people were at this time coming into Massachusetts, attracted by the factories that were erected, and the more earnest clergymen and laymen there were alive to the necessity of saving them to the principles and practices to which they were accustomed in their fatherland. For want of pastors, however, many were lost. This want was experienced everywhere in the rapidly-growing States, among them especially North Carolina, where again much benefit resulted from the appointment of lay readers, by whose efforts in some instances congregations were preserved from utter extinction. The

¹ Upon the evacuation of Boston by the British troops, in 1776, there were but three clergymen in the whole of New England. In 1784, there were but twenty-one. In Pennsylvania, there were only seven.

Rev. Dr. Bedell tells of one such faithful labourer whom he found in those parts, who had for a whole generation maintained regular services, until a clergyman was secured who came and administered the sacraments. Afterwards he was the means of erecting a church-building in what was then a wilderness.¹ None of these excelled Samuel Gunn, who, in his lonely abode amid the wilds of Ohio, established, first for his own family, and then for his neighbours also, regular liturgical services. He acted as chaplain in all offices lawful to a layman, until a clergyman was secured, who was obliged to travel fifty miles. The Prayer-Book was valued so highly by his neighbours as to sell for twenty bushels of corn. Mr. Gunn died in 1832, but not until he had heard with rejoicing of the consecration of Bishop Chase.

Some little excitement was caused in the General Convention of 1826 (Philadelphia) by a proposition, emanating from the House of Bishops, for abbreviating the offices of Morning and Evening Prayer, with a view to secure greater uniformity in the use of "that part of the Communion Office which is commonly called the Ante-Communion." As originally made, it included the limiting of the use of the Litany to seasons and days especially appointed for humiliation. This suggestion was afterwards withdrawn, when it was found how great opposition to it had been aroused. As finally presented, the recommendations were approved by the Convention, subject to the ratification of the different

¹ "Early Clergy," by the Rev. S. F. Hotchkin, pp. 369, 370. See also p. 341 of this History.

dioceses and of the following Convention. But they failed to receive the assent of the dioceses, and so were not considered by the Convention of 1829.

At this session, Kentucky and Tennessee were admitted into union with the Convention. The chief matter that occupied its members' attention was a request from the diocese of Virginia for the consecration of the Rev. William Meade, D.D., as "Assistant or Suffragan Bishop." Personally, he was very acceptable, but there had been expressly added at the time of his election a proviso to the effect that such election carried with it no right of succession, thus practically making the tenure of his office to depend upon the life of the diocesan. Strenuous objections were urged to this proviso, and only on the understanding that Virginia would rectify what was generally esteemed a mistake did the Convention consent to the consecration. To guard against similar cases in the future, a canon was passed whereby the right of succession was secured; and Dr. Meade was duly consecrated.

The time of the succeeding Convention (New York, 1832) was largely occupied in settling another question arising out of an episcopal election, that of the Rev. Charles P. M'Ilvaine to the diocese of Ohio.¹ Bishop Chase, owing chiefly to disagreements between himself and the trustees of Kenyon College (of which

¹ This prelate came in time to be one of the most influential leaders of what is denominated the Evangelical School. His ability and courtesy were cordially recognised by his most determined opponents. During the Civil War he was one of four ambassadors informally appointed by President Abraham Lincoln to represent to the English people what was deemed in the North the real significance of the war.

he was President), had resigned his bishopric of Ohio, and removed to the territory of Michigan, not then in union with the Convention. The House of Bishops was of the opinion that such action on his part was not in conformity with Church law, and desired to make a declaration to this effect, while they were ready, in the interests of the diocese, to accept the actual situation of affairs.¹ The House of Deputies adopted a somewhat milder set of resolutions, and yet guarded their action from being considered a precedent for bishops resigning at their will without the consent of their dioceses. The two Houses agreed in approving Dr. M'Ilvaine's testimonials, and he was accordingly consecrated, in company with Bishops Hopkins, B. B. Smith, and G. W. Doane, the largest number of American bishops ever consecrated at one time, save that the same number were consecrated at Richmond, Virginia, on October 13, 1859. Alabama and Michigan, the latter only a territory at the time, were admitted into union with the Convention. A French version of the Prayer-Book was duly authorised. The South-Western diocese was made to consist of Mississippi, Alabama, and Louisiana.

By the time the next Convention assembled (Philadelphia, 1835), the Church began to feel still more the necessity for progressive legislation. The idea of missionary bishops was given actual form by the election of the Rev. Dr. Francis L. Hawks² to the

¹ For Bishop Griswold's views in favour of the right of a bishop to resign his jurisdiction, see his "Memoir," pp. 373 *sqq.*

² See pp. 240, 241.

oversight of Louisiana, Florida, and Arkansas, and of the Rev. Dr. Jackson Kemper¹ for Missouri and Indiana. The former declined, but the latter accepted his election, and was shortly afterwards consecrated. Measures were adopted for facilitating the division of dioceses, it being already manifest that the territory comprised in some of them was quite beyond the power of any one man to oversee properly. The consciousness of personal responsibility, especially in the missionary work of the Church, found expression in that provision of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society by which every baptized member of the Church is declared to be a member also of this Society. Steps were also taken looking forward to the consecration of missionary bishops for foreign lands. A German version of the Prayer-Book was ordered. In subsequent years, measures were adopted for issuing versions in the Spanish, Norwegian, and Welsh languages.

¹ See p. 245.

CHAPTER XI

SOME OF THE CHURCH'S LEADERS

Bishop White—His ordination in England—His early ministry in Philadelphia—His appeal in the case of Girard College—The relation of Christianity to the American State—Bishop White's death and funeral—His character and services—Bishop Hobart—Bishop Richard Channing Moore—Bishop Griswold—Bishop Philander Chase—Father Nash—The Rev. Drs. Milnor, Sparrow, and S. F. Jarvis—The Oxford Movement—The Carey Ordination—Signatures of bishops—The Rev. Dr. Francis L. Hawks—Bishops H. U. and B. T. Onderdonk—Bishop Ives—Bishop G. W. Doane—The General Convention of 1859—The Episcopate made coextensive with the national territory—Bishop Kemper—Bishop Otey—The University of the South—Resolutions on systematic offerings.

THE period at which we have now arrived (1835-6) affords a convenient resting-place from which we may glance backwards, as we consider some details concerning at least a few of the leading men and events that have been thus far but briefly mentioned.

The most prominent figure during this part of the century was the first bishop of Pennsylvania, the Right Rev. William White, D.D., who was called to his rest in the summer of 1836. Like Seabury, he was notably a special instrument of God's providence for the founding of the national Church. Agreeing in many things with his illustrious colleague, he had entirely different characteristics and gifts, which,

however, were not less needful to the great purpose that they both had so sincerely in view. His blessed memory might well demand a more extensive biography than can be given in this single volume. He was born in the same city where he lived and laboured so many years, Philadelphia, on March 24, 1747, Old Style, or, according to the New Style, April 4, 1748. He had the advantage of a thorough education in his youth, and early showed—as by “playing church”—his predilection for the sacred ministry. He also received valuable counsel and sympathy in his preparations for his life-work from three distinguished clergymen, Drs. Duché, Peters, and Smith. In October 1770 he sailed for England, and on his arrival presented himself with his testimonials to the Bishop of London (Dr. Richard Terrick), by whose chaplain he was duly examined. At the Ember-season immediately following (December 23, 1770), he was ordained deacon, in the Chapel Royal, S. James’s, by Dr. Young, Bishop of Norwich. He was obliged to remain in England for eighteen months so as to attain the requisite age for ordination to the priesthood, which event took place in the chapel of Fulham Palace on S. Mark’s Day 1772, the Bishop of London officiating. His sojourn in England was very agreeable and profitable. The account which he gives of his visit to different places and of his interviews with different persons is very entertaining. Among other famous people, he saw Canon Moore (who afterwards took part in consecrating him bishop), Canon Kennicot, Bishop Lowth, Bishop Horne, Dr. Samuel Johnson, and Dr. Oliver

Goldsmith. In alluding to Dr. Johnson (whom he found engaged in preparing a new edition of his great dictionary), he says that the lexicographer only once displayed towards him anything like harshness of manners. That was when, in referring to the controversy as to the Stamp Act, he said that if he had been prime minister he would have sent a ship of war and levelled one of the principal American cities with the ground. The young American gives a sample of the superficial examination in Hebrew in vogue at the time. One of the candidates was asked, "What is the English of Gabbatha?" Another was asked, "What is the Hebrew of 'My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken Me?'"

On his arrival in Philadelphia, during the early autumn of 1772, he assumed his duties as an assistant minister of Christ Church and S. Peter's, to which post he had been elected while he was still abroad. He began his ministry at a time of great political excitement, into which, however, he resolutely refused to be drawn. His natural inclination was to submit to the British rule, while not relinquishing the right of appeal and remonstrance. He continued to pray for the King up to the very time of the Declaration of Independence. When that event occurred, he felt it his duty to cast in his lot with those who favoured separation from the royal government, and accordingly he took the oath of allegiance to the new government. He afterwards served, in conjunction with Mr. Duffield, a Presbyterian minister, as Chaplain to the Continental Congress. At one time he was the only

officiating Church clergyman in the State. Dr. Duché, with other clergymen, had fled to England, and the rectorship of the united churches had been declared vacant by the vestry. Mr. White was thereupon chosen rector. In the spring of 1782, he received the honorary degree of Doctor in Divinity from the University of Pennsylvania, being the first person to whom this institution paid such a compliment.

We have already dealt somewhat with the part which he took after peace was concluded, in 1783, in effecting the revival and reorganisation of the Church. Suffice it to say here that his activity and influence were very largely instrumental in accomplishing this most important work. While in some respects he would appear at times to have been less strenuous than others in the maintenance of Catholic principles and precedents, yet it was, doubtless, owing to his conservative and conciliatory manners that the laity especially were despoiled of the prejudices, born chiefly of political considerations, which occasionally threatened the welfare of the infant Church.

Deeply interested as he always was in the affairs of the Church at large, he did not neglect his duties as pastor, even after his consecration to the Episcopate (of which we have already given an account), but was ever most diligent and faithful in discharging them. In 1793, Philadelphia suffered greatly from the ravages of the yellow fever. As far as possible, the citizens in general fled to the country; but Bishop White remained at his post, and ministered unflinchingly to all whom he could aid in any way. At

a later period of his life (1832), although he was over eighty years of age, he was none the less diligent in visiting those who were attacked by Asiatic cholera.

His interest in public affairs, always keen, remained with him through life. Shortly before his death, he gave a proof of this in several communications on the subject of that provision in Stephen Girard's will by which ministers of all denominations were to be excluded from visiting the college which he was about to found. As it is a matter of interest on several accounts, the extract from Mr. Girard's will bearing upon this point is here quoted in full: "I enjoin and require that no ecclesiastic, missionary, or minister, of any sect whatsoever, shall ever hold or exercise any station or duty whatever in the said college; nor shall any such person ever be admitted for any purpose, or as a visitor, within the premises appropriated to the purposes of the said college. In making this restriction, I do not mean to cast any reflection upon any sect or person whatsoever; but as there is such a multitude of sects, and such a diversity of opinion amongst them, I desire to keep the tender minds of the orphans who are to derive advantage from this bequest free from the excitement which clashing doctrines and sectarian controversy are so apt to produce.

"My desire is that all the instructors and teachers in the college shall take pains to instil into the minds of the scholars the purest principles of morality, so that, on their entrance into active life, they may, from inclination and habit, evince benevolence towards their

fellow-creatures, and a love of truth, sobriety, and industry, adopting at the same time such religious tenets as their matured reason may enable them to prefer."

Bishop White, in advising the members of the City Council to reject the trust intended to be instituted by Mr. Girard, based his argument upon the evils which would result from such an acknowledgment; as its acceptance would imply that religion, even in its simplest forms, is unnecessary to the binding of men to their various duties. In the course of his first communication, he reminded his fellow-citizens that "in Pennsylvania the first legislative act of its founder was to affirm the being of a God, and the divine authority of the Christian religion," and that these truths had been held as a part of the law of the land, and had been recognised as such by the courts of justice.

The trust was accepted, and those who recommended this course were convinced, as the Bishop himself pointed out, that Christianity being recognised by the courts as the common law of the land, it would not be a violation of the trust to give, through the instrumentality of laymen, Christian instruction. Upon such instruction, they argued, "the purest principles of morality" are of necessity based. Accordingly it has happened, by a special providence, that those who have throughout been chiefly responsible for the administration of the college and for the education of its inmates have been men of pronounced religious and Christian views; and no court has been found that would give the vigilant family-heirs any encouragement

to bring action against the trustees on the ground of going contrary to the express stipulations of the will.

This may be a convenient place for a few remarks upon the general question of the State's recognition of Christianity. In the civil courts of the United States there have been numerous attempts on the part of its opponents to dispute its obligation, because of there being no distinct national enactment in its behalf. But the judgments against such complainants have been from the beginning clear and strong. Chancellor Kent, of New York, who is still recognised as a leading legal authority, decided such a case in 1811, at which time he said: "The people of this State, in common with the people of this country, profess the general doctrines of Christianity as their faith and practice." "True," he went on to declare, "the Constitution has discarded religious establishments." But what then? "It does not forbid judicial cognizance of those offences against religion and morality which have no reference to any such establishment, or to any particular form of government, but are punishable because they strike at the root of moral obligation and weaken the security of social ties." He added: "To construe it as breaking down the common-law barriers against licentious, wanton, and impious attacks upon Christianity itself, would be an enormous perversion of its meaning."¹

The Supreme Court of Pennsylvania subsequently declared that "Even if Christianity were not a part of the law of the land, it is the popular religion of the country; an insult to which would be indictable as

¹ 8 Johns, 290.

tending to disturb the public peace ;" adding that " No society can tolerate a wilful and despiteful attempt to subvert its religion."¹ The same court annulled a will made in favour of a society of atheists, on the ground that the State-law recognised none but literary, charitable, and religious societies.

One more quotation will suffice to cover the point now under discussion. It is from a sermon entitled "Christianity and the Common Law":² "While the laws may nominally tolerate every religion, it is useless to deny that practically in the inevitable prejudices of the people, no other than the Christian religion is at home in America. . . . So that the question is not so much whether Christianity be a part of the common law as that the law, for its own permanence, be approved by Christianity. Law exists so long as public opinion permits it to exist. The public opinion of this country is Christian opinion: therefore law lives or dies at the bidding of Christianity, and not Christianity at the bidding of the law."

This digression has been somewhat lengthened because in giving a history of the Church in America, where she has in no direct way the patronage of the State,³ the history of Christianity necessarily passes

¹ 11 Serg. & R. 394.

² By the Rev. Wm. H. Platt, D.D.

³ It may perhaps be said indirectly to recognise Christianity as the religion of the country by the appointment and support of chaplains for the Army and Navy. In 1844, a member of Congress offered an amendment to the Appropriation Bill, striking out the section in which provision was made for the salaries of chaplains, on the ground that the expenditure was unnecessary, useless, and unconstitutional. Some admirable speeches, full of religious sentiment, were made against the amendment, which was finally lost by an almost unanimous vote.

under review, and its true position in the Republic becomes a matter of pertinence and importance.¹

To return to Bishop White. He continued in the possession of unusually good health, which enabled him to labour unceasingly with his accustomed devotion. On the last Sunday in June, 1836, he preached with uncommon vigour at S. Peter's Church. Shortly afterwards, he began to fail rapidly, and died in Philadelphia² on July 17, in the eighty-ninth year of his age and the fiftieth of his episcopate. The whole community felt his loss as a personal bereavement. Even staid Friends were wont to speak of him as "our bishop." On the day of his funeral there was, by common consent, a suspension of public business. All orders of citizens joined in the procession, which was witnessed, it is computed, by not less than 20,000 persons. It is safe to say that no American Churchman has died amid more general and genuine expressions of affection and veneration. And deservedly so; his personal life, his mental capacity, his loyalty to the principles of the Church, and his unwearied labours in her behalf will always entitle him to an honourable post in the front rank of her members.³ While at times he is quoted first by one party in the Church

¹ See the religious character of the early Charters, pp. 1, 4, 5, 20-22.

² His death took place at the dwelling, in Walnut Street, where he had lived for over fifty years.

³ As an illustration of his unselfish and fervent interest in the missionary work of the Church, it may be mentioned that towards the end of his life the treasury of the newly-formed Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society was in such an impoverished condition that immediate steps for its relief were necessary. Bishop White stepped forward and pledged his private credit for this purpose to the amount of \$4000.

and then by another, he himself abhorred anything like partisanship.¹ He loved the truth, and while he spoke it always candidly, he was ever most urbane and gentle; and withal, he was unaffectedly modest and retiring. His sermons were carefully composed, but his manner of delivery was not such as to make him a popular preacher. His writings, however, and the more his deeds, have outlived the fickle applause of the multitude, and he will ever be remembered as a true man and a faithful shepherd.

It is natural in connection with Bishop White to give some account of Bishop Hobart. While in some respects they were quite dissimilar, there existed between them great intimacy and affection, and by the very contrast in their characters they were enabled the more to benefit that Church to which they were so ardently attached. John Henry Hobart was born in Philadelphia in the year 1775, and died in Auburn, New York, September 12, 1830. The permanent influence which he exerted would seem to belong to a man of more years, but the circumstances of the times in which he lived, as well as his strong characteristics, compelled him to be a controversialist. He had a ready pen, and was among the bravest of men. While

¹ On the occasion of the Pennsylvania Convention held in 1826 for the election of an assistant bishop, when party feeling ran very high, one of the clerical members, during an exciting debate, referred to Bishop White as a Low Churchman. He immediately rose and, after apologising for intervening in the discussion, said that as the word was used in England, and a hundred years ago, he might perhaps be called a Low Churchman. "But," he added with great emphasis, "as the word is understood in this country and among us now, you might as well call me a Turk or a Jew." See "Life of Bp. Hopkins," p. 101.

he encountered not a little bitter and unjust opposition, yet he had no warmer friends than some of those who differed from his ecclesiastical views. The Rev. Dr. John M. Mason, a distinguished Calvinistic divine, was perhaps his most determined foe, and this was his testimony: "Were I compelled to entrust the safety of my country to any one man, that man should be John Henry Hobart." At his ordination to the priesthood (in 1800) he was appointed an assistant minister of Trinity Church, New York, of which parish he subsequently became rector. While serving in this capacity, he was elected assistant bishop of the diocese (1811), and upon Bishop Moore's death (1816) he succeeded to the bishopric. He laboured incessantly in the discharge of the manifold duties pertaining to the care of a large territory and of rapidly multiplying churches. He was an effective preacher, and diligent in writing and editing volumes of a theological description, some of which (especially his "Festivals and Fasts") reached a number of editions. His "Apology for Apostolic Order" still remains a valued text-book. He was very active in promoting the establishment of the General Theological Seminary, and various organisations for Church work. His reputation as a learned, loyal, and intrepid Churchman grew year by year, until his advice was sought on every hand. In the various gatherings of the clergy and laity which he attended, he became almost essential, so that it was hardly any exaggeration to speak of him, as the Rev. Dr. Lyell of New York did, as "one who in the councils of the Church, if he were present it seemed that all were

present there, and who if he were missing no one could fill his place." His episcopate has been termed an epoch or turning-point in the history of the American Church. Unquestionably, it was very fruitful of substantial growth; and his name must ever have a high place among our ecclesiastical heroes. His well-known motto was "Evangelical Truth and Apostolic Order."

Bishop Richard Channing Moore was Bishop of Virginia for nearly thirty years (1814-41), and was largely instrumental in recovering that diocese from the low state in which it was at the beginning of the present century. He came with a wide reputation for piety and devotion, as also for ability in preaching. As to the latter point, it may be mentioned that on a certain occasion, while rector of S. Andrew's Church, Richmond, New York, he was called upon at the end of a long sermon to preach another immediately. This done, the congregation insisted upon having a third, and were only dissuaded from asking for a fourth when they saw that the preacher was completely exhausted. He died in his eightieth year, in the midst of a laborious visitation. He should be gratefully remembered by the whole Church as one of the first to advocate what is still so much needed, systematic giving. His arguments on this score, however so forcible, were a novelty to the majority of his hearers.

Bishop Griswold (born 1766, died 1843) stands out easily as one of the prominent ecclesiastical figures in this period. He was a precocious child, and early

studied law, which profession he abandoned in 1794, being ordained deacon in the summer of the following year. When he was first chosen, in 1810, Bishop of what then became known as the Eastern Diocese,¹ he modestly and yet firmly declined the election, only yielding at last to the importunity of friends who clearly recognised his qualifications for this office. His field was a very extensive one, and he cultivated it most assiduously. For a while he was the presiding bishop. He was obliged by failing health to have an assistant, and it was while in the act of calling upon him (Bishop Eastburn) that he fell dead at the door. Many anecdotes are told of him, illustrating his faithful performance of duty, his ready wit, and his unquestioned sanctity of life. It may not be amiss to put two or three of them on record here. In the course of one of his visitations, it became necessary for him to cross Narragansett Bay, in order to keep an appointment at Wickford. A fierce gale was blowing, and the regular ferry-packet was withdrawn for the day. The Bishop induced a brave seaman to attempt the passage in an open sail-boat. When midway, he declared that he would not go any further, the risk was so great. On learning that his apprehensions were chiefly because there was not ballast enough, the Bishop at once cast himself full-length upon his face into the bottom of the boat, and so,

¹ This term was originally meant to include Massachusetts (which in turn comprised what is now called Maine), Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and Vermont. Formed in 1810, it gradually became smaller and smaller, by reason of the erection of separate and independent dioceses, until in 1842 it was entirely dissolved.

after much further toil and peril, reached the shore,—only to find an empty church, as both rector and people had given up all expectation of seeing him.

At a gathering in his diocese some of his clergy, in alluding to one of their number well-known for his eccentricities, and yet for whose self-denying zeal the Bishop had a great regard, said to him, "Bishop, do you know that Mr. — is mad?" "Is he?" "Oh yes, he is stark mad." "Then," replied the Bishop, "I wish he would bite some of my other clergy."

A Dissenter, who made loud professions of his goodness, once approached the Bishop with the inquiry, "Bishop, do you think there is any vital piety in the Episcopal Church?" With an amiable smile and downcast looks, he replied, "None to speak of."

In one of his early parishes, a formal legal contract was entered into between himself and the congregation, in which it was expressly stipulated that "the said Griswold have liberty to attend Conventions and Convocations of the clergy, and to obey the directions of his Diocesan."

Strong efforts were made in the beginning of his ministry to find out to which of the political parties he belonged, for then it was common, as now happily it is not, for clergymen to become even political leaders. After a number of vain attempts on the part of various friends, he was asked directly, "Which is your party?" He answered gently, "My kingdom is not of this world."

As showing the poverty of the times and his own simplicity, it may be mentioned that part of his

support in the beginning of his ministry was earned by actual labour (at 75 cents a day) on a farm, where he was reckoned among the best of the workmen.

Another notable bishop at this period was the Right Rev. Dr. Philander Chase, whose distinct personality connects him with some of the most romantic events of his day. Stories of a deeply interesting kind abound, descriptive of the heroic zeal and self-sacrifice with which he travelled and laboured in days that were especially full of difficulty and discouragement. He had great faith in the future growth of the Church, and although he had to do much of the pioneer work alone, and amid not a little faint-heartedness and prejudice on the part of others, his buoyancy never forsook him. Before becoming Bishop of Ohio, he laboured at Poughkeepsie and Fishkill, New York, and afterwards at New Orleans, Louisiana, and Hartford, Connecticut. Moved by the tidings which he received of the spiritual destitution of what was then the western frontier, he went in 1817 to Ohio, of which diocese he was consecrated bishop in 1819. Helped very largely (almost exclusively) by generous gifts of money obtained by himself during an extended visit to England, he bought a large tract of land in Knox County, Ohio, where he laid the foundations of those valuable institutions now belonging and allied to Kenyon College, at Gambier.¹ Afterwards, he received large sums of money from American Churchmen. In 1831, he resigned his

¹ Both of these names commemorate liberal benefactions on the part of English noblemen.

jurisdiction and removed the next year to Michigan, where he remained until 1835, when he was chosen first Bishop of Illinois, without salary or house. By means of money chiefly raised by him during a second visit to England, he was enabled to found Jubilee College. He died in 1852, in the seventy-eighth year of his age, and was succeeded by a man of marked intellectual ability, who had for a year been his assistant, the Right Rev. Henry J. Whitehouse, D.D.¹

Among the priests of this period who deserve to be especially mentioned is the Rev. Daniel Nash, who for a period of forty years (1797-1836) laboured unceasingly and efficiently as a missionary in Otsego and Chenango counties, New York, and who was everywhere affectionately styled Father Nash. For a great part of his life, he dwelt contentedly with his wife and children in a one-room cabin of unhewn logs. The beneficial influence of his life and work is still perceptible.

The Rev. James Milnor, D.D. (1773-1844), was during his prime the recognised leader of those who belonged to what is called the Evangelical party. This was not so much from any great natural ability as from his general character and attainments. He was for many years rector of S. George's Church, New York, and prominently identified with the chief benevolent and missionary societies of the city.

The Rev. William Sparrow, D.D. (1801-1874), was also very influential in the same circles, and especially among the young men studying at the Virginia

¹ See p. 260.

Theological Seminary, where he displayed much talent as a teacher and sermoniser. A favourite remark of his is worth recording: "A Church without a creed or confession is like a ship on the high seas without a flag—an ecclesiastical pirate."

Among the more scholarly priests of this period, none enjoyed greater prominence than the Rev. Samuel Farmar Jarvis, D.D. (1786-1851), whose learning, while it embraced a remarkably wide range, was unusually accurate. He made his researches most conscientiously, and, having a very retentive memory, his services, especially to the cause of ecclesiastical history, were invaluable. He held several professorial chairs, and was elected by the General Convention of 1838 Church Historiographer. This office he retained until his death.

America shared largely in the excitement growing out of what is known as the Oxford Movement. It manifested itself in various ways, but was chiefly exhibited in the proceedings of the General Convention of 1844, and in the meetings of the Board of Trustees of the General Theological Seminary. Every bishop, and many other clergymen, had been more or less questioned on the subject more particularly of the Tracts, and especially of Tract XC. In the General Convention, a very earnest and able debate took place. Some wished that a declaration, either by the House of Bishops alone, or by that House with the concurrence of the other, should be set forth, in which the mind of the Church should be known concerning the questions in controversy. Finally, resolutions were

adopted in which it was declared that the Faith was already sufficiently proclaimed in the formularies of the Church, and that her canons were ample to govern any cases of supposed heterodoxy. As to the Seminary, a formal visitation of the institution was made by the bishops in a body, with the result of quieting the minds which had been so much exercised as to the loyalty of the instruction therein given. As illustrative of the feeling then existing, it may be mentioned that upon its being proposed to republish Dr. Hook's famous sermon "Hear the Church" and the Oxford Tracts, and to give the proceeds of their sales to the Seminary, some of the trustees protested so violently against the suggestion that the plan was abandoned.

Fuel had been added to the flames by the incidents connected with the Carey Ordination in New York, as to which nearly the whole Church in time took sides. Arthur Carey, a young man of unusual ability and promise, had graduated from the Seminary in 1842, too young for ordination. His views were supposed by some to be unsound. They were, however, simply catholic, and such as would not now attract any especial comment. Two prominent New York clergymen (Drs. Anthon and Smith) protested against his ordination. The Bishop (Dr. B. T. Onderdonk) summoned some of his ablest priests, who examined Mr. Carey, and declared themselves entirely satisfied with his theological views, which he proved to be in accordance with those held by eminent Anglican divines. The clergymen already named repaired to the church where he was to be ordained, and again

protested, publicly, against his ordination; but the Bishop proceeded. A war of pamphlets ensued, and the matter was passed upon by the Conventions of several dioceses.

As showing the condition of the ecclesiastical mind of this period, a complaint may be cited which some Pennsylvania laymen made to the Bishop concerning their rector. It was because the rector used what the laymen styled "an altar card," which was simply a piece of pasteboard with the Prayer of Consecration printed on it. In writing to the Bishop concerning the matter, the rector remarked: "The same persons who have talked about the above were greatly facetious about the surplice, and perfectly clamorous at the introduction of the chants." Among things that then caused alarm and controversy, were the decoration of churches at Christmas with evergreens, stained glass with figures for church windows, reading the Ante-Communion service at the altar instead of at the reading-desk. The introduction of lecterns, and prayer-desks at the sides of the chancel, were also obstinately resisted. When the *Venite* was first chanted, it was called "singing prose," and the people mimicked the tune. The people generally sat during the chanting and singing, except at the *Gloria Patri*. No wonder if under such circumstances a writer (1840), in advocating more frequent celebrations, was forced to say, "Monthly Communion is perhaps nearly all that we can accomplish in the present state of things."

In the Maryland Convention of 1844 a clergyman offered a resolution requiring the Bishop to sign

himself "Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Maryland" instead of "Bishop of Maryland." The Bishop (Whittingham) ruled the resolution out of order.¹

Mention has been made of the General Convention of 1844. This Convention was memorable for an incident connected with one of the most eminent clergymen of his day, the Rev. Francis L. Hawks, D.D. In general and ecclesiastical learning he was hardly equalled by any of his colleagues,² while as a pulpit orator he was surpassed by none.³ Those who heard him will never forget his marvellously rich and sonorous voice, and the impressive manner in which he rendered the Church Service. He had attained to wide celebrity at the bar, but early abandoned it for the sacred ministry. In 1835 he was chosen missionary bishop of Louisiana, Arkansas, and Florida, but declined the appointment. In 1844 his election as Bishop of Mississippi was under consideration by the General Convention. Charges of ill-regulated temper, financial dishonesty, &c., were brought against him, and it was in answer to them that he made what was generally thought to be the greatest speech of his

¹ Bishop Seabury used various forms of signature, *e.g.*, "Samuel Connecticut" (this rarely), "S. Bp. Connect.," and "Samuel, Bp. Epl. Ch., Connect." His successor (Bishop Jarvis) signed his Registry of Ordinations as follows: "By us, Abraham, Bishop of Connecticut."

² He was especially interested in historical matters, and rendered invaluable service as the Historiographer of the Church, which office he held for a number of years. He was succeeded in this office by the present Bishop of Iowa, the Right Rev. Dr. William Stevens Perry, whose varied and continuous labours in this department have laid the Church under great obligations to him.

³ He has been styled "The Chrysostom of the American Church."

life, and one that created a profound impression upon all who heard it. After a long and exciting discussion, the House relegated the matter to the diocese. Although unanimously re-elected, he declined, as he did also subsequently (in 1852) an election to the diocese of Rhode Island. After serving several parishes with much distinction, he died in 1866.

It was at the General Convention of 1844 that the Right Rev. Henry U. Onderdonk, D.D., Bishop of Pennsylvania, was suspended from all public exercise of his ministerial functions by reason of his intemperance, which he candidly and penitently confessed. In 1856 he was restored to his proper functions, in accordance with numerous requests made to the House of Bishops, and general satisfaction was expressed in this testimony to the blameless life which he had led during the whole period of his suspension. Large congregations gladly gathered to hear him again, for as a preacher he had great ability, and personally he was much beloved. His brother, the Right Rev. Dr. Benjamin T. Onderdonk, Bishop of New York, was charged with immorality, and was tried before a court of bishops, which was in session from December 11, 1844, to January 3, 1845. He was suspended, but at no time did he acknowledge his guilt. While he allowed that he might have been indiscreet, he declared that he was not the slave of deliberate impurity of intention. He, however, in no way contemned the sentence, but led a quiet and approved life, retaining to its very close the warmest affection and confidence of his numerous friends. More than once his diocese

made strenuous efforts to obtain a remission of his sentence, but without avail. Relief was sought from the anomalous position in which the diocese was placed, and finally a canon was passed by which a provisional bishop was elected.

It was not long before another bishop was brought to trial, this time for having renounced the communion of the Church. It was the Right Rev. Dr. Levi Silliman Ives, who had been for twenty years Bishop of North Carolina, and who had made his submission to the Bishop of Rome. He had no following, nor were the circumstances attending his defection calculated to influence others to join him. At the General Convention held in 1853, he was solemnly deposed. His vacillating, if not dishonest, course in first disavowing Roman errors, then retracting his disavowal, and afterwards repeating his disavowal, can only be attributed to his evidently shattered health, both physical and mental.

To this period also belongs the trial of the Right Rev. Dr. George Washington Doane, Bishop of New Jersey, which in some respects was the most remarkable and influential of them all. This was not only because of the many noteworthy incidents—some of them most startling—in connection with it, but also because of its leading to the enactment of such provisions concerning the trial of bishops as give to the Episcopate a position much nearer its ancient and Catholic character, in wholesome protection against unseemly attacks made under the specious guise of discipline. The trial was ill advised, as the whole

amount of Bishop Doane's offence was a lack of such business qualities as would have saved him from the financial embarrassments into which he was betrayed by his great zeal in behalf of Christian education. His own diocese stood by him nobly. Thrice he was presented; twice he was brought before his peers; at the end the presentment was unanimously dismissed, and the respondent at once discharged, without having been required at any time to plead guilty or not guilty. It is true that the Court declared the belief that the presenters had acted in good faith, but this did not alter the general opinion as to the blunders which they had committed. Of these blunders Bishop Doane was not slow, in a becoming manner, to avail himself. Indeed it has been observed of his defence, by one of the most astute critics of the whole affair, that it "was the most remarkable exhibition of boldness even to audacity, of adroitness, skill, endurance, eloquence, manly candour, and prudence that has ever been seen, in that line, in America."¹

This may be a fitting place to say something further concerning one of the most remarkable prelates of the century. He would have been remarkable in any walk of life. No one, during the period of his episcopate, was more instrumental in making and moulding the history of the Church than Bishop Doane. As early as 1832 he made a plea for daily services, which were not then held anywhere in the United States. In his various writings—and he was very diligent

¹ "Life of Bishop Hopkins," by the Rev. Dr. J. H. Hopkins, junr., pp. 250, 251.

with his pen—he aided largely in the promulgation of sound doctrine. It was he who first introduced Keble's "Christian Year" to the American public, and his notes added very much to the value of the early editions. He himself was a poet of no mean ability, and as a preacher he had great power. In the matter of Christian education he laboured with much faith and efficiency. S. Mary's Hall, Burlington, New Jersey (founded in 1837), was the first Church boarding-school for girls, and its many graduates have carried innumerable blessings with them throughout the land. His voice was most potent in inspiring missionary zeal,¹ and in the deliberative assemblies of the Church he always carried great weight. Nor did he neglect such public duties as appertained to his American citizenship. His Fourth of July orations were always a marked feature of the year. When he died, in 1859, aged sixty years, he was everywhere lamented as a "Great-hearted Shepherd."²

A distinct epoch in the Church's history was reached in 1859, when, by the action of the General Convention, assembled in Richmond, the Episcopate was made co-extensive with the boundaries of the United States. The placing of every portion of this vast territory under episcopal jurisdiction was made possible by the election of several additional missionary

¹ To him was chiefly due the reorganisation of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society on the Catholic basis.

² On one occasion, when delayed in reaching a parish where he had an important engagement, he shipped himself on a freight train as "live-stock," and thus was carried without violating the company's rules.

bishops. Thus the Church seemed at length determined to cast off the reproach of being the last of religious bodies to enter upon the occupation of the new territories that were attracting so many settlers. Much of this was really *terra incognita*, and so vast was the region in the North-West confided to the charge of a single bishop (the late Dr. Joseph C. Talbot), that he was quite justified in styling himself "The Bishop of All-out-doors," and in giving to the Board of Missions, in his half-playful, half-earnest way, some lessons in geography when he first returned to render an account of his labours and travels.

At the same Convention, resolutions of grateful affection were passed upon the resignation by the Right Rev. Jackson Kemper, D.D., of the missionary episcopate of the North-West. He thereafter became Bishop of Wisconsin. Bishop Kemper was a truly apostolic labourer. No man ever worked more faithfully in any missionary field, and to his singular zeal and robust piety, accompanied as it was by unflinching loyalty to the Church, much of the ecclesiastical growth in that widely extended district is, under God, eminently due.

A similarly devoted missionary bishop in the South may be well commemorated in this connection, as he not much later (in 1863) passed to his rest, the Right Rev. James H. Otey, D.D. He was for a while not only Bishop of Tennessee, but also Provisional Bishop of the adjacent States of Mississippi, Louisiana, and Arkansas. He was of commanding stature, being six feet four inches in height, and had

the countenance of a born leader of men. While indefatigable in his missionary labours, he was very much interested in theological education and in general learning. As a preacher, he was very earnest and impressive. On one occasion he was dwelling upon the effect on a young man of a sinful course of life, which he traced step by step until he brought the transgressor to the very verge of destruction. When the Bishop had reached this point, he and the whole congregation were very much startled by one of his hearers calling out, loudly and yet involuntarily, "My God, he's gone!" The thought of a Southern University was originally suggested by Bishop Otey, although it fell to the lot of Bishop Polk, of Louisiana, to formulate it, and, after the ravages of the Civil War, to Bishop Quintard, of Tennessee, to replace it on the broad foundation from which it has been built to its present prosperity.¹

Before passing away from this period, it may be well, as showing the mind of the Church in regard to the important matter of systematic and conscientious giving, to record the action taken by the General Convention of 1859. The following resolutions were adopted unanimously:—

"Resolved, That it is the duty of every member of the Church to consecrate a definite percentage of his income to the advancement of the cause of our Lord and Saviour.

"Resolved, That systematic and frequent offerings by persons and parishes, according to their ability,

¹ See p. 306.

must be mainly relied upon, under the Divine blessing, for the enlargement of the benevolent operations of the Church.

“Resolved, That it is recommended to all clergymen in charge of parishes to bring their flock as near as practicable to compliance with the spirit of the apostolic direction of the Church of Corinth, ‘Upon the first day of the week let every one of you lay by him in store, as God hath prospered him.’ And that to this end the clergy bring the subject especially to the attention of the people, some time during the Advent season of each year.”

CHAPTER XII

THE CIVIL WAR AND REUNION

The attitude of the Church during the Civil War—The General Conventions of 1862 and 1865—The return of the Southern bishops—Bishop R. H. Wilmer—Bishop Polk—Gains to the Church from her attitude.

REFERENCE has already been made to the special Providence of God in preserving the Church in America from schism during the long and critical period preceding the consecration of Bishop Seabury. The same special Providence may be discovered with equal clearness in the trying period belonging to the Civil War, 1861-65. It is not too much to say that it was largely due to the Church's influence, growing out of her abstinence from political strife, that the day of actual conflict was so long in coming. Many of the prominent men on either side were her sons, and they were better trained than others in the arts of peace. But at length the struggle came, with a bitterness that none can correctly estimate who did not live in its midst. Ties of all kinds were sundered, and any future reunion on amicable terms seemed to many impossible. It was a matter of course that under such circumstances the Church should in some measure feel the general shock, and there were not wanting, both North and South,

those who allowed their passions to get the better of their judgment. It would have been wonderful, indeed, if there had been in either section less of what both sides called "loyalty;" and yet, with all this political, social, and personal alienation, there was preserved to the Church a marvellous degree of charity. The war was scarcely a year old when the General Convention of 1862 met in the city of New York, on the eve of a hotly contested State election. The condition of the country was, naturally enough, the prominent theme in the minds of all the members. No formal notice was taken of the absence of bishops and deputies from the Southern States. Seats were assigned them as formerly, and their names were called as though no war were raging. After a long and brilliant debate, in which varying sentiments were expressed and received in a truly fraternal spirit—the difference being as to how far the Convention should deal with matters esteemed by some as mainly political—a series of resolutions was adopted susceptible of a favourable interpretation on either side of the House.

The efforts of the majority were directed to prevent, so far as possible, anything being said or done which would hinder a spontaneous reunion of the Church.¹ During its session, the Convention observed a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer, in view of "the present afflictive condition of the country." In the special prayers used on that occasion, there was an utter

¹ Perhaps no one contributed more largely to this result than the Rev. Dr. Kerfoot, afterwards first Bishop of Pittsburg, and the Rev. Dr. Mahan, of the General Theological Seminary. See p. 323.

absence of anything bitter or self-approving. There was constant acknowledgment of sinfulness and unworthiness, and an equally sincere seeking of unity and love.

The same spirit continued to prevail in the North that had been manifested in the Convention, and it was now confidently believed that, when the war should be over, no insuperable difficulty would be in the way of reunion. In the meantime, there had been established in the South what was called "The Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States of America." The leading Southern bishops had, in the beginning, opposed secession. The Bishop of Maryland (Dr. Whittingham) opposed it vigorously to the end. But when an independent government was set up, all the bishops of the States which gave allegiance to it (Maryland was not among them) considered themselves as forced to ecclesiastical separation. But in this matter they were very careful to deny that they were parting either from the Church Catholic or from their fellow-Churchmen in the North, except so far as they deemed it necessary on political grounds. The Committee on the State of the Church declared that "though now found within different political boundaries, the Church remains substantially one." The Committee on the Prayer-Book were distinctly instructed to propose no changes that involved the doctrine or discipline of the Church. Similar sentiments were contained in the Pastoral Letter of the first General Council, held in Augusta, Georgia, November 1862.¹

¹ Several meetings of the clergy and laity of the Southern States were held, which were well attended, considering the difficulties in the way.

No alteration was made in the Prayer-Book except the substitution of the word *Confederate* for *United* whenever the latter occurred. The name of *Reformed Catholic* was suggested, but was voted down. Only one edition of the altered Prayer-Book was published, in London.

Before the assembling of the General Convention of 1865, in Philadelphia, the war, happily, was at an end. There were, however, strong passionate feelings on both sides, and forebodings were entertained by some as to the outcome of that meeting. The Presiding Bishop was the Right Rev. Dr. Hopkins, Bishop of Vermont.¹ He early determined to make strenuous efforts to bring about a speedy and complete reunion. His relations with the Southern bishops were such as to favour the accomplishment of his purpose. Early in the summer he addressed an affectionate letter to them, urging their attendance, and the attendance of deputies from their several dioceses, at the ensuing General Convention. The God of peace and love Himself presided there. Before the opening service the Bishop of North Carolina (the Right Rev. Thomas Atkinson, D.D.) made his appearance at the church (S. Luke's), but declined to accompany the other bishops in the usual procession, out of deference to the feelings of his Southern brethren who were not there. But just before the celebration of the Holy Communion, he yielded to a fresh invitation, and, accompanied by the Missionary Bishop of the South-West (the Right Rev. Henry C. Lay, D.D.), came into the chancel and took his place with the other

¹ See pp. 262, 263.

bishops, amidst such hearty rejoicing as could hardly be repressed within the bounds of the propriety belonging to the occasion and place.¹

When the House of Bishops assembled for business, a message was received from the Southern bishops, asking upon what terms they would be admitted. No better reply could have been made than that which was conveyed to them through the Bishop of New York, namely, "to trust all to the love and honour of their brethren." It was all that was needed, and Bishops Atkinson and Lay soon appeared, and were most cordially welcomed. Delegates, both clerical and lay, were present in the Lower House from the Southern dioceses of Tennessee, North Carolina, and Texas. They found seats already awaiting them, for, as in 1862, the roll of all the Southern dioceses was called after the uniform manner.

There remained, however, several delicate questions in the handling of which serious embarrassments might have arisen. The Rev. Dr. Richard H. Wilmer had been consecrated Bishop of Alabama, lawfully enough, so far as the requisite number of other bishops was concerned, but without the canonical consent of the majority of those constituting for this purpose the representatives of the American Church. There was also a further objection to his recognition as a bishop in good standing, because of a pastoral letter

¹ An open letter addressed by these prelates and Bishop Quintard (who was consecrated during the Convention) to the members of the Church in the South had no little influence in restoring amicable relations between the two sections.

issued by him after the actual close of the war, in which he declined to recognise the military authority which would require the clergy of his diocese to offer prayers for the President of the United States. This he did because he felt that the civil authority had not as yet been restored, and that, so far as the military authority was concerned, he desired the least prosperity and length of life that was consistent with the Divine Will.

The difficulty in the first case was removed by the House of Bishops agreeing to admit him fully to his official rights upon the presentation of his credentials, and upon his giving before three other bishops the promise of conformity contained in the Ordinal. As to his pastoral letter, the House of Bishops formally but kindly expressed their regrets at its promulgation, and their belief that no further occasion for such regrets would occur.

In the Providence of God, no necessity arose for action in regard to the Right Rev. Dr. Leonidas Polk, Bishop of Louisiana, who had also served for several years as a Major-General (and afterwards as a Lieutenant-General) in the Confederate army, for which service he was qualified as a graduate of the Military Academy at West Point. He was a man of ardent feelings, but it was not until much urgency was used from many influential quarters that he assumed his military position, and then only with the understanding that he might relinquish it whenever an opportunity should occur. He resigned several times, but ineffectually. At length he was killed by a cannon

shot while reconnoitring near Marietta, Georgia. His services in initiating the University of the South, now in prosperous operation at Sewanee, Tennessee, must always be gratefully remembered.

While unflinching in supporting and maintaining the constitutional authorities, yet the great body of Churchmen in the North had all along taken every precaution against unnecessarily wounding the sensibilities of their Southern brethren.

This conciliatory spirit was very evident when, in the early part of the General Convention of 1865, a proposition was made that its members should, as was most fitting, thank God publicly for that unity and peace which as publicly they had prayed Him to vouchsafe. Yet when the Southern bishops asked to be excused from attending the service of thanksgiving, the Convention agreed to strike out from the report of the Joint-Committee words to which they had objected, and which some thought had political bearing. This being done, the whole Convention participated in the special office appointed for the occasion, and God was praised for having granted "peace to the country and unity to the Church."

The restraint thus illustrated and the avoidance by the clergy in general of questions purely political gained for the Church such a measure of public respect and confidence as was not possessed by any other religious body. Many strangers were thus led to attend her services, and afterwards to conform to her entirely. Churchmen were among the most prominent and influential citizens on either side, and

there can be no doubt that the truly fraternal way in which both sections came together—the Church in this matter being quite in advance of any other organisation—very materially helped the work of national reconstruction.

CHAPTER XIII

ECCLESIASTICAL CONTROVERSIES

Legislation as to points of Ritual—The Rev. Dr. De Koven—The Rev. Dr. Seymour—The Bishops' "Declaration as to Baptismal Regeneration"—The Cheney case—Dr. Cummins and "the Reformed Episcopal Church"—"Essays and Reviews"—The origin of the Lambeth Conferences—Dr. Colenso—Biblical Revision.

WE have seen how happily the Church was reunited as to her civil boundaries. But there soon began to lower around her the clouds of internal discord. "Ritualism" became everywhere the fruitful theme of animated and almost rancorous discussion, both in public and in private. A more elaborate ceremonial had been introduced, accompanied by a more pronounced inculcation of doctrine concerning the sacraments. Some were filled with grave apprehensions, and in the General Conventions of 1868, 1871, and 1874 numerous attempts were made to obtain definite and minute legislation on the subject.

These propositions were in most instances successfully opposed by others, who thought that no such departure from really Catholic doctrine and worship had been proved as demanded any canonical declaration or restriction. They contended further that, even if such legislation were needed, it should not be had until after the most mature deliberation, which, in the

state of feeling then existing, seemed very improbable. In 1874 a Canon was passed which is still in force, by which it is made the duty of the bishops to proceed against any minister who may be accused to them of having introduced unauthorised ceremonies, or practices setting forth erroneous or doubtful doctrines, such as (*a*) the elevation of the Elements in the Holy Communion in such manner as to expose them to the view of the people as objects towards which adoration is to be made; (*b*) any act of adoration of or towards the Elements in the Holy Communion, such as bowings, prostrations, or genuflections; and (*c*) all other like acts not authorised by the Rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer.

In the calm that now exists in regard to this whole matter, it may appear surprising to some to know that among the things which, in 1871, at the recommendation of a committee of five bishops, a majority of whom were reckoned as High Churchmen, were to be prohibited by canon, were—the use of incense; the placing or retaining of a crucifix in any part of the church; the carrying of a cross in procession in a church; the use of lights on or about the Holy Table, except when necessary; the mixing of water with the wine as part of the service, or in the presence of the congregation; the ablution of the vessels in their presence; employing or allowing any one not in Holy Orders to assist in any part of the Communion Office.¹

¹ Several bishops had before this refused to consecrate churches where the altars had no visible legs. In one case, a bishop declined

This Committee further recommended that no stoles should be allowed except black and white, and that no cassock should reach below the ankles, and, in the same spirit of precision, that when surpliced choirs were allowed, the only addition to their ordinary attire should be the surplice *reaching to the ankles*. No choral service was to be allowed, nor any surpliced choir, without the consenting vote of the vestry, nor contrary to the Bishop's prohibition.¹

It was during the great debate (at Baltimore) on these topics, in 1871, that the Rev. James De Koven, D.D. (then Warden of Racine College, Wisconsin, and one of the foremost priests of his day, especially in matters appertaining to Christian education), made a speech that has passed into history. In addressing the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies, he deprecated the attempt of some to confine within narrow limits what he conceived to be the more Catholic tendency of the American Church. Towards the close of his most able and brilliant speech, which was listened to with breathless attention by an audience that crowded every part of the building in which he spoke, he used the following language: "I believe in 'the Real, Actual Presence of our Lord under the form of bread and wine upon the altars of our churches.' I myself adore, and would, if it were necessary, or my duty, 'teach my people to adore

for several years to confirm in a church where there was a cross on the altar; he also demanded that the guild in the same parish should not in its public services sing the *Gloria Patri* between the psalms.

¹ See p. 324.

'Christ present in the elements under the form of bread and wine.' And I use these words, because they are a bold statement of the doctrine of the Real Presence. But I use them for another reason: they are adjudicated words. They are words which, used by a divine of the Church of England,¹ have been tried in the highest ecclesiastical court of England, and have been decided by that Court to come within the limits of the truth held in the Church of England."

Dr. De Koven challenged any one who might think him to be unsound in the faith to present him for trial; but no proceedings were ever instituted against him. However, when he was elected, in 1875, Bishop of Illinois, a warm and protracted controversy arose, and his election was not confirmed by the Standing Committees, a large majority of them voting against such confirmation. When the Rev. Dr. George F. Seymour, of the General Theological Seminary (who was known to hold views similar to those of Dr. De Koven), was chosen, in September 1874, to fill this same vacancy, he also failed to receive, in the General Convention of that year, the necessary confirmation. But in 1878 Dr. Seymour was elected to the new see of Springfield (erected within the limits of the original diocese of Illinois), and his election was, notwithstanding considerable opposition, confirmed. Doubtless, a similar change in opinion would have been shown had Dr. De Koven's name been at this latter time before the Standing Committees.

¹ The Rev. W. J. E. Bennett, Vicar of Frome.

To quiet the minds of many who had been disturbed on the subject of Baptismal Regeneration, a Declaration was made, in 1871, by forty-eight of the fifty-three bishops then constituting the House, in which they expressed the opinion that "the word regenerate in the offices for the ministration of baptism of infants is not there so used as to determine that a moral change in the subject of baptism is wrought in the sacrament."

Like most deliverances of this kind, it was susceptible of two interpretations, and it failed especially to give satisfaction to those who had been prominent in their sympathy with the Rev. Charles E. Cheney, a Chicago clergyman, who had been deposed, early in June 1871, by the Right Rev. Dr. Whitehouse, Bishop of Illinois, a champion of the faith as brave as he was able. Mr. Cheney had been tried before an ecclesiastical court for omitting the words "regenerate" and "regeneration" from the baptismal office. First, he was suspended from his ministerial functions until he should use those words. But for continued contumacy, he was finally deposed—a sentence that was fully executed, and observed by Churchmen, notwithstanding a favourable opinion which Mr. Cheney obtained from a civil tribunal to which he appealed as to his right to use the church-building where he had been officiating.

Towards the end of 1873 (November 10), the Right Rev. Dr. George D. Cummins, then assistant-Bishop of Kentucky (who as such had signed the Episcopal Declaration above quoted), announced, in a letter to

the Bishop of Kentucky, the Right Rev. B. B. Smith, D.D., his intention of immediately withdrawing from the Church, because of his dissatisfaction with the Prayer-Book doctrines as to the sacraments and the ministry, and of his disapproval of "the services customary in Ritualistic churches." Bishop Smith urged him to reconsider his determination, but without effect. Under the date of November 13, 1873, he issued a call for a meeting in New York "to organise an Episcopal Church on the basis of the (proposed) Prayer-Book of 1785," which he thought was free from Sacerdotalism and Ritualism. On the 22nd of the same month, the Bishop of Kentucky (who was also the presiding bishop) notified Dr. Cummins that, unless within six months he declared that he had not abandoned the communion of the Church, he would be deposed from the ministry. On the 1st of December 1873, the Bishop of Kentucky gave notice that the Standing Committee of that diocese had presented Dr. Cummins for trial, and also gave warning that any episcopal act of his pending these proceedings would be null and void. On the following day, the "Reformed Episcopal Church" was organised, and Dr. Cummins was chosen its "Presiding Bishop." Several of those who took part in this meeting had been previously deposed from the ministry of the Church for various offences, moral and ecclesiastical, and several more were ministers of different denominations. On December 12, the Bishop of Kentucky formally withdrew from Dr. Cummins all such episcopal authority as he had hitherto committed to him.

Upon the day after receiving this communication, Dr. Cummins "consecrated" Mr. Cheney as "bishop." On S. John Baptist's Day, 1874, he was duly deposed,¹ and two years later he died. Although this schism has now been in existence for more than twenty years, and has offered itself as a place of refuge for all kinds of dissatisfied and unsuccessful ministers and people, its existence is hardly known outside its own ranks, and its influence can scarcely be said to have any appreciable quantity.

While chiefly occupied with its own affairs, the Church in America was not unmindful of those belonging to other branches of the Anglican Communion. When in 1864 the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council had given judgment in the matter of "Essays and Reviews," a declaration in the same words was circulated among the bishops in the United States, as far as was possible (the Civil War, at that time existing, made it difficult to reach the Southern bishops), and all but four gave either their precise approval to the declaration, or substantially so to what it contained.

This movement was headed by a prelate to whom the Church owed so much in many ways, the Right Rev. Dr. John Henry Hopkins, Bishop of Vermont. His versatility of talents, his great learning, and his uncompromising bravery easily made him at all times a conspicuous figure in ecclesiastical circles. He con-

¹ This action of the presiding bishop was taken with the consent of a majority of all the bishops, and was ratified by the House of Bishops at their meeting in the ensuing October. Thus all doubt was removed as to the regularity and validity of the deposition.

tributed largely to the Church's appreciation of her need of schools and colleges. It is claimed by some that to him is due the credit of first suggesting the Lambeth Conference, which would seem to be the case from the text of a letter of his addressed, in 1851, to the Archbishop of Canterbury.¹

In 1865, a resolution was adopted by the House of Bishops, strongly supporting the Bishop of Cape Town in his proceedings against Dr. Colenso, the validity of whose excommunication was unequivocally recognised by the American Church.

In 1871, the House of Bishops declined to commit themselves to the work then commenced in England for the revision of the authorised version of the Holy Scriptures, expressing a disposition to consider the work with candour when its results should be laid before them.

¹ See "Life of Bishop Hopkins," p. 393.

The first *official* action bearing on the subject was taken by the Provincial Synod of the Canadian Church in 1865, by reason of whose communication the matter was brought, in 1866, to the notice of the Convocation of Canterbury.

CHAPTER XIV

ORGANISATION FOR MISSIONARY WORK

Early missions to the Indians—John Eliot—The Rev. Absalom Jones and work among the Negroes—Organised efforts for missions—Green Bay and the Rev. Eleazer Williams—Woman's Auxiliary—Mission to Greece, and the Rev. Dr. Robertson—The Rev. Dr. and Mrs. Hill—The mission to China and the Rev. A. F. Lyde—First missionaries to Africa—To China—Bishop Southgate's mission to the East—First efforts in Japan—Bishop for Haiti—Labours among the Indians—Commission for work among the Negroes—Christianising the Jews—The story of Nashotah—The Rev. Dr. James Lloyd Breck—The mission to Mexico, and Dr. Riley—Sisterhoods and Deaconesses.

IT would seem at first sight to be somewhat inappropriate to speak of any particular efforts of the Church in America as missionary, when her planting here and her subsequent growth for many years were so wholly due to such efforts on the part of her English mother. And yet she was not wanting in similar efforts among the aboriginal inhabitants. As already pointed out, one of the chief objects for which the royal charters were granted to the early colonists was the evangelisation of the red men,¹ and many were the attempts in the beginning to carry the Gospel to them.

¹ The Massachusetts Colony adopted as the device upon its seal the figure of an Indian with a label at his mouth, containing the words, "Come over and help us." The S.P.G. afterwards selected the same device with a slight alteration.

The belief that they were the descendants of the lost tribes of Israel gave additional zest to the labours of some. We are not aware of the names of those who, prior to the eighteenth century, made this their special mission, except in the case of one who, although afterwards estranged from the Church, had yet been ordained to her ministry. This was John Eliot, who, with exemplary zeal and self-sacrifice and with much success, devoted himself, until the close of his long life, to the welfare of the Indians. In this respect his conduct was very unlike that of many of the Puritans, with whom he cast in his lot, but who so notably neglected, and even at times persecuted, those whose good they professed (in the Covenant drawn at Salem) to desire to promote.¹ It is worthy of note in this connection, that it was from the S.P.G. that Eliot derived the means for publishing the Holy Scriptures in the Indians' language.

It is not surprising that the same Society should engage more directly in the work, whose importance was constantly urged upon its missionaries. In 1704, the Rev. Thoroughgood Moore (of whom a more detailed account is given elsewhere) was appointed to go to the Five Nations, in response to an earnest appeal from the Earl of Bellamont, Governor of New York. He travelled as far as Albany, but from various causes was hindered from proceeding any further. In 1712, the Rev. William Andrews came from England on the same errand, requests for missionaries having been made of the Queen in person by four

¹ See Anderson's *History of the Colonial Church*, vol. ii. pp. 193 *sqq.*

sachems. His success was at times quite marked. At other times it was but slight, the chief obstacle then being what is still the chief one in all such labours, the inconsistencies of white Christians. There was good prospect of large results, when the French war broke out and seriously impaired all religious work. After its injurious results had disappeared, the Church in various parts of the country resumed work among the Indians with more or less vigour. But ere long the white man's cupidity again manifested itself, and the chief anxiety with some was to gain as much pecuniarily from them as was possible, and by whatsoever means were feasible. Hence there ensued in some parts of the country great lukewarmness as to their spiritual condition. In a letter addressed to the S.P.G. by the Rev. Mr. Barton, under date of November 8, 1756, he alludes to the shameful way in which the Indians have been cheated, and attributes the miseries under which the Colonies were then groaning to the neglect of the duty of instructing them. He instances also the complaints made by the sachems against English traders, who were debauching their tribes with rum and other strong spirits, introduced among them, despite an Act of the Assembly prohibiting such proceedings. The Rev. George Muirson, a missionary to Rye, devoted himself diligently to the same work, but with little success, the Indians showing very plainly their dislike for a religion whose white disciples put it to shame so openly.

While the Indians seem to have occupied the first

place in the missionary efforts of the infant Church, the negroes were by no means neglected in her earlier days. This was true of the North no less than of the South. Early in the eighteenth century, the rector and vestry of Trinity Church, New York, interested themselves very considerably in their behalf. Under the Rev. Mr. Vesey's direction, Mr. Elias Neau, a Huguenot (described by the rector as "a glorious professor of the Reformed Faith") served them from 1704 to 1722, very conscientiously and efficiently. Afterwards, and for a long period, the congregation used to assemble in Trinity Church, on Sunday afternoons, until its numbers seemed to require a separate place.

The first coloured clergyman of whom there appears to be any record was the Rev. Absalom Jones, whose name is included in the list of clergy belonging to the diocese of Pennsylvania, as furnished to the General Convention in 1795. At that time he was a deacon, in charge of what was known for many years as "the African Church of S. Thomas," Philadelphia, the first parish of this race formed in America.¹ The parish of S. Philip, New York, was founded in 1818.

It was for the benefit of the same race that the Rev. Joseph R. Andrews (or Andrus) sailed for West Africa early in the year 1821, landing at Sierra Leone. He subsequently visited the Bassa country,

¹ It was founded in 1793. As showing the prejudice existing even in Pennsylvania against this race, it may be mentioned, that although for years its right to representation in the Diocesan Convention was regularly claimed, and with much ability and zeal, it was not until 1864 that it was recognised, and coloured delegates took their seats.

and returned to Sierra Leone, where he died, after a short illness, on July 29th of the same year. He went out more directly under the auspices of the American Colonisation Society, but with the hearty approval of Bishop Griswold, among others. For several years he had been desirous of labouring among the heathen abroad, and yet, although he has been claimed as the first foreign missionary of the American Church, we have already seen that this honour rightly belongs to the Rev. Thomas Thompson.¹

As early as 1792, the General Convention agreed upon a plan for the support of missionaries who should go to what were then denominated "the frontiers of the United States." This plan included the preaching annually of a missionary sermon, to be followed by a collection.

Various projects were mooted from time to time for the establishment of a regularly organised missionary society which should embrace the whole Church. Early in the present century, there was some correspondence between American Churchmen and the Church Missionary Society of England, more particularly with reference to co-operation through a similar organisation in work among foreign nations. As an encouragement in this direction, the C.M.S. offered a contribution from its own funds of £200.

The first steps under any organisation for supplying the spiritual needs of what was then known as the West were taken, in 1816, by Bishop White and a few other clergymen residing in Philadelphia. They

¹ See above, pp. 47, 48.

inaugurated the Episcopal Missionary Society of Philadelphia, and sent a clergyman to Ohio. He subsequently went to Kentucky and Tennessee. These operations were continued, both in this country and in Africa, until the formation for the whole Church of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, of which, indeed, it may be said to have been to some extent, if not the origin, at least the immediate forerunner.

In 1820 the General Convention adopted a Constitution for such a society, which, however, from faulty features, was superseded by another Constitution, passed at the General Convention of 1821.

One of the first acts of the Board of Directors was the appointment, on May 23, 1822, of Mr. Ephraim Bacon and his wife as catechists and teachers for West Africa, whither, as we have seen, the Rev. Mr. Andrews had gone in the previous year. They did not go as appointed, owing to difficulties in securing transportation, and the project was for the time abandoned. Later on, some account will be found of the appointment of the Rev. Thomas S. Savage and others.

At the same meeting, the amount contributed for two years to the work of the Society was reported to be \$5723.58.

Among the early ventures of faith, was the establishment of a mission to the Indians at Green Bay, Wisconsin, which, however, had to be re-organised in 1827 under another clergyman. This was the Rev. Eleazer Williams, described as "of Indian extraction

and in deacon's orders." A number of years afterwards this clergyman became quite famous as the supposed "Lost Dauphin," or Louis XVII. Not a few eminent persons became much interested in the controversy that arose upon the subject, and some of them were fully persuaded of the genuineness of his claim.

At the first triennial meeting of the Society, held in 1823, it was reported that there had been organised eleven auxiliary societies, of which eight were composed entirely of women.

It was agreed, in 1826, that a mission should be established at Buenos Ayres, but very little seems to have come of this decision. The Rev. Lot Jones was appointed to its oversight, and would have gone, but for the blockade of that port and other circumstances. The Rev. Jacob Oson, a coloured man of recognised ability, had been ordained with a view to work in Africa, and was (in 1828) on the eve of departing to his distant field when he was taken ill and died.

The next work abroad undertaken (in 1829) by the Society was a mission to Greece, which country had recently freed itself from Turkish and Mahometan oppression. The Rev. John J. Robertson, of Maryland, a man of considerable ability and devotion, who had volunteered his services, was empowered to go thither as the Society's agent, to inform himself of the real condition of the people, and to report as to the advisability of establishing the proposed mission. As well in the instructions which he received as in the letter addressed to him by Bishop White and other bishops, he was reminded of the fact that the Greek

Church was of apostolic origin, and was to be acknowledged as such, while its corruptions were to be dealt with prudently. Mr. Robertson proceeded to Greece in the early part of 1829, and returned to America towards the close of the same year. In the October following, he set sail again for Greece, in company with three other missionaries (the Rev. John H. Hill and wife, and Mr. Solomon Bingham), whose departure from Boston was the occasion of a very interesting and impressive series of farewell services. Even greater care than before was taken in the instructions given them to impress upon them the necessity of guarding the Greeks against the idea of any attempt being made to establish another Church. As one result of the investigations made by Mr. Robertson, these later instructions were broader and fuller, clearly defining the Catholic principles involved.

The success of the mission was largely predicated upon the use of a printing-press which was shipped with them, and upon the influence of the school which Mr. and Mrs. Hill especially were to establish. Shortly after their arrival in Athens, Mrs. Hill opened a school for girls in the cellar of her residence. Twenty pupils were in attendance on the first day. In two months the number had grown to 167, in ages ranging from three to eighteen years. Of this whole number, very few could read at all; not many knew even their letters. A boys' school was also soon in operation, and had almost immediately over a hundred pupils. In this they had the assistance of a Greek priest. Such was the general want of education in the country,

as also of teachers, that many of the Greek youth were being sent to Italy, France, and Germany, where not a few of them acquired infidel principles. Mr. Hill set himself resolutely to counteract these influences, largely through training competent instructors. At the time of its organisation, the school at Athens was, with one exception at Syra, the only school for girls in Greece. This institution has been in constant operation ever since, and has been recognised far and wide as the means of conferring incalculable benefits upon thousands. Very often the highest encomiums were spoken in its honour and in honour of Dr. Hill and his wife, who were spared in a good old age to see the happy results of their labours. The school, conducted on the same principles as formerly, continues to have the confidence of both the ecclesiastical and civil rulers of Greece, and of the most observant and influential residents and visitors of its ancient capital.

In 1834 Mr. Edward A. Newton—a layman from Massachusetts, who, during his whole connection with the Board of Missions, evinced the liveliest and most generous interest in its work—moved that a mission be established in China, Cochin China, Siam, or Burmah, so soon as proper missionaries could be found for such stations. After some discussion, his motion was amended so as to exclude the names of all places except China. It is not too much to say that by the resolution of one young man to undertake the mission to that country, was given the chief impulse to its establishment at this time. It was the Rev. Augustus Foster Lyde, who from his boyhood had shown

remarkable intellectual activity and spiritual devotion. He graduated from the General Theological Seminary in June 1834, and was immediately ordained to the diaconate. His heart was full of his burning desire to go and preach the Gospel in China, but his health, which had been for some time precarious, soon broke down completely, and he died in November. In a letter which he addressed to the members of the Missionary Society of the Seminary, written, as he himself says, "in the calm expectation of death," he pleads with them most pathetically and eloquently for a thorough consecration of themselves to the great missionary cause, with especial reference to the heathen world. When his physician informed him of the impossibility of his recovery, he burst into tears and exclaimed, "Can it be so? Shall I never be allowed to preach the Gospel in China? Yet I am not worthy of such a service. But I will labour for her sake while I live." And so he did labour, and not without effect, as one of the missionaries who afterwards went thither testified. Indeed, he may fairly be accounted as the first missionary, and as such his name and the inspiration which he gave to others deserve to be gratefully remembered. The first one actually to sail was the Rev. Henry Lockwood, of the General Theological Seminary, who was accompanied by the Rev. Francis R. Hanson, a graduate of the Virginia Theological Seminary.¹ They sailed together

¹ They went first to Batavia in the island of Java, where they studied the language and waited for a favourable opening in China. The first foothold obtained by them was near Amoy.

from New York on June 2, 1835, after several interesting farewell services. The entrance into this field of the American Church was prior to any similar action by the English Church. It was not until the year 1874 that the S.P.G. began work in North China. In 1835-6 the mission to Africa was very much strengthened by the devotion of themselves to the work of no less than three clergymen: the Rev. Thomas S. Savage, the Rev. Lancelot B. Minor, and the Rev. John Payne, the last of whom subsequently became the first bishop of that jurisdiction.¹

In 1837 the Rev. George Benton, accompanied by his wife and two Greek teachers, began work in the island of Crete, at once establishing a school, which in seven months numbered nearly 250 pupils. Among them were children of Turks, Jews, and Greeks. In the course of another year, there were almost as many again.

It is interesting, especially in view of the present facts of the case, to observe that in the same year, under the head of Foreign Missions, the special committee of the Board having this branch of its work in charge reported the steps taken to preach the Gospel in Texas (not then, as now, a constituent part of the United States), where it was believed that "a strong mission might by divine blessing be commenced."

The Board in 1837 took action, looking towards an early election of a missionary bishop for foreign parts,

¹ Bishop Payne's successors have been as follows: The Right Rev. John G. Auer, Clifton C. Penick, and Samuel D. Ferguson. The latter is still in service there, and is a coloured man.

and Africa was designated as the station for which the first of such bishops should be consecrated. But it was not until 1844 that such a bishop was chosen, in the person of the Rev. William J. Boone, who returned to China, where he had been labouring faithfully for many years. As showing the long-continued opposition to Christianity and other obstacles with which the missionaries there had to contend—owing largely to their comparative ignorance of the Chinese language and literature—it may be mentioned that the first baptism was not until 1846. This convert was named Kong Chai Wong, and afterwards became a clergyman.

At the same time that Bishop Boone was consecrated, the Rev. Horatio Southgate was consecrated as Missionary Bishop in the Dominions and Dependencies of the Sultan of Turkey, which included not only Turkey but also the Holy Land, Egypt, and the northern portions of Africa as far west as Algiers. It was in 1836 that this clergyman, described in the report of the Foreign Committee as “a young gentleman of extraordinary promise,” began to arouse an interest in the conversion of Mahometans. He succeeded in obtaining the sympathy of many persons throughout the land, some of whom contributed liberally to the support of the proposed mission. On the 24th of April, he addressed a farewell meeting in New York, where considerable enthusiasm was manifested, one evidence of which was shown in an offering of over \$2000 for the cause of Church work abroad. One other mission to the Mahometans had already

been established by Americans, but none had been conducted on the plan which Mr. Southgate was instructed to pursue. He took up his residence in Constantinople for the greater portion of a year, that he might perfect himself in the Turkish language. After making a pretty thorough exploration of Asia Minor, Persia, Kurdistan, and Mesopotamia, he repaired, with the Rev. Dr. Robertson (who relinquished his work at Syra after accomplishing no little good), to Constantinople to do what might be feasible for the spiritual improvement of the Greeks in that capital and in neighbouring places. His lonely journeys had been full of arduous labours and severe sufferings, even to the point of risking his life.

It is but simple justice to the memory of his wife, a woman most devout and talented, to record the extraordinary help she was in all the intricate and trying operations of this mission. During the Bishop's absences, she remained abroad and cared for the work, even to its minor details, most faithfully and successfully.

For the space of five years after his consecration, Bishop Southgate worked most assiduously, and not without good results. He remained faithful to the instructions which he had originally received, which were to the effect that he was to seek rather to obtain friendly and confidential intercourse with the Eastern Christians than to propose anything like a formal intercommunion with them.¹ Not that this latter object

¹ For the truly Catholic instructions given to him and to Dr. Robertson by the bishops in 1841, see Appendix D.

was by any means to be out of his mind, but that it was thought that, in the providence of God, such a blessing might be more surely obtained by the non-controversial course which he was expected to pursue. He was to bring to their notice things in which they and those whom he represented agreed,—an agreement much greater than that which existed between the Eastern and Latin Churches. Indeed, the mission of the American Church was looked upon by many as the only one that could successfully counteract in those countries the designs of the Latin Church. The Bishop was received with open arms by the Greek Patriarch, who had said to him and Dr. Robertson: “We are glad at last to see among us missionaries who are governed by bishops. We are now on equal terms; we know with whom we have to deal.” He expressed his gratitude that the American Church had sent a bishop to represent it, and to look after its own people in the East. The influence of the United States, and of the American Church, in this part of the world, was at this time very great, especially among Christians. Wherever Bishop Southgate went, he was affectionately embraced by the Oriental prelates.

His position and that of his associates was, however, constantly and not seldom bitterly assailed; and this not only by other American missionaries representing various denominations,¹ but by Churchmen at home, who failed to grasp and appreciate the true ideas

¹ He excited their ire because he exposed the manner in which some of them used the Prayer-Book and allowed themselves to be taken for clergymen, even bishops, of the Church.

of Church unity which underlay his real mission. While properly resenting these unjust attacks upon him, he went on steadily with his appointed work until the year 1849. He then returned home for the purpose of urging the separation of his mission from the jurisdiction of the Foreign Committee with a view to its being placed in the hands of the House of Bishops, it seeming plain to him that a mission to Christian Churches should not be conducted by any other body; least of all that it should be managed on the same principles as a mission to the heathen.

Two months before the meeting of the House of Bishops, he was chosen first Bishop of California, and at the same time domestic reasons prevented his early return to Constantinople. As most of his friends in the House of Bishops favoured his going to California, his resignation was accepted, but without the slightest idea of the Oriental mission being thereby abandoned. On the contrary, the Board of Missions at its ensuing triennial meeting voted its continuance; but during the recess it was allowed to die. There can be no doubt that the whole movement led not only to a clearer and fuller knowledge of and interest in the Eastern Churches, but also among them to the same result concerning the American Church.¹

¹ Bishop Southgate published the narrative of his tours in several valuable and interesting volumes. He was subsequently engaged in pastoral work until 1872, in his native city Portland, Maine, where he organised S. Luke's Church, now the Cathedral; in Boston, as rector of the Church of the Advent; and in New York, as rector of Zion Church. He died in Astoria, N.Y., April 12, 1894, in the eighty-second year of his age, being at the time of his death the senior bishop by consecration in the American Church.

In 1852, Commodore Perry—a Churchman—commanded an exploring expedition from the United States to Japan. In 1854 a treaty was made between the two countries, by which the latter opened certain ports to the former. The United States Consul, Townsend Harris, by his firm yet conciliatory course, obtained permission from the Japanese government for the introduction there of Christian worship. This was celebrated in 1858, for the first time in two centuries and a half. The American Church was not long in availing herself of the opening thus presented. In 1859, the Rev. John Liggins and the Rev. Channing M. Williams were sent out as her first missionaries. The Rev. Mr. Williams, after labouring for awhile alone, came home in 1866, and was consecrated bishop in the autumn of that year. He reached Shanghai in January 1868, and in the latter part of that year returned to Japan, visiting China occasionally until the jurisdiction was divided in 1874, at which time he became the Bishop of Yedo. He may be said to have been the chief instrument in laying the foundations of the Church in Japan. For a number of years, he laboured against much prejudice and opposition. Almost immediately after his first arrival, violent edicts against Christianity were posted everywhere. It was seven years before he baptized his first convert, a Sumari of Hioge. During this time he was engaged in translating portions of the Bible and Prayer-Book. He also ministered to the English residents, who erected the first church-building in the Empire. In alluding to his labours, a merchant who had lived in

China and Japan said a few years ago, "I know of nothing in Xavier to exceed the zeal and devotion, as yet unrecorded in song or story, of the Missionary Bishop of Yedo."

In 1889, the resignation of Bishop Williams was accepted,¹ and after several ineffectual efforts to fill the vacancy, the Right Rev. John M'Kim, D.D., was consecrated his successor in 1893, with the title, as subsequently arranged, of Bishop of Tokyo. In China, Bishop Williams was succeeded by the Right Rev. Samuel I. J. Schereschewsky, D.D., who was obliged on account of ill health to resign in 1884. His valuable services, continued after his resignation amid great bodily affliction, in translating the Holy Scriptures into the Mandarin language, will always entitle him to most grateful remembrance. He was succeeded in turn by the Right Rev. Dr. William J. Boone (son of the first bishop), who died in 1891. In 1893, the Rev. Frederick R. Graves, D.D., was elected and consecrated to the vacant see.

In all the foreign fields, it has been for years the policy of the Church to obtain for the ministry as many recruits as possible, having regard to personal fitness, from the ranks of the natives. Thus far, a large number have been so obtained, and now it is hoped that before long there may be established in at least some of these fields autonomous national churches.

In 1874, the Rev. James T. Holly, a coloured man of good attainments, was consecrated Bishop of Haiti.

¹ He has continued to labour as a missionary in the same field.

Work had been for a number of years¹ carried on in this island under the auspices of the Board of Missions, and much encouragement was at times afforded those who were thus engaged. Destructive fires and disastrous revolutions have of late years caused serious interruption and embarrassment, but the Bishop and his clergy have persevered in their labours with admirable courage. While the Church in Haiti is largely self-supporting, financial aid is still furnished from the Church in the United States.

An account has already been given of the early efforts to evangelise the American Indians. These have continued with more or less ardour until the present time. In the course of events, most of these aboriginal Americans removed, or were removed by reason of the white man's cupidity, to the West, where they came more directly under the care of the bishops having jurisdiction there. The Right Rev. Dr. Whipple, Bishop of Minnesota, at the beginning of his episcopate devoted himself to them with such zeal—never since abated—that he has won for himself the name of "the Apostle of the Indians." Among the laymen who laboured in this cause, none were more unselfish than William Welsh, of Philadelphia, who in other directions also of Christian benevolence and Church work is entitled to grateful and honourable remembrance. Although as early as 1844 it had been proposed to raise \$20,000 to endow an Indian episcopate, it was

¹ In May 1861, Bishop Holly sailed from New Haven, at the head of a colony of 111 persons, to found the mission. In November 1863, Bishop Lee, of Delaware, made there the first Episcopal visitation.

not until 1873 that the Right Rev. William Hobart Hare was consecrated bishop with a special view to such work—which he has ever since carried out with unflagging energy and self-sacrifice. In more recent years, his jurisdiction has been subdivided, and in South Dakota (his present field) he also ministers to many white people. This double work is now laid upon a number of other bishops, who are faithfully endeavouring to cope with the difficulties in their way. Large numbers of Indian catechists and clergymen have been set apart for work among the various friendly and hostile tribes, and devout communicants are counted by thousands. These would have been tens of thousands had it not been for the perfidy of government officials and the inconsistencies of white professors of Christianity.

Labours on behalf of the Negroes continued to be made with more or less earnestness throughout the country until the breaking out of the Civil War, which for a while paralysed such efforts in some quarters of the South. Up to that time, in this section of the country, large numbers of this race were born and nurtured in the Church. Many masters looked most conscientiously after the spiritual welfare of their slaves. As an illustration of this solicitude, it may be mentioned that a layman of Mississippi¹ built on his plantation for their use (he owned a thousand) a beautiful chapel costing \$20,000, a rectory costing \$3,000, and paid the chaplain a stipend of \$1200 a year. It is related that on one occasion when Bishop Otey

¹ Dr. William Newton Mercer, living near Natchez.

was visiting him, and the chaplain undertook to baptize about 120 adults and children who had been awaiting the Bishop's coming—Mississippi then belonged to his jurisdiction—the Bishop was obliged, though himself sorely tried, to go on with the administration of the sacrament, the chaplain being compelled to retire from laughter at the curious and amusing names given to the candidates. Several bishops owned large numbers of slaves. The Bishop of Louisiana (the Right Rev. Dr. Polk) had four hundred, and he brought them up in the Church carefully. Bishop Meade, of Virginia, emancipated his slaves on condition that they would remove to Liberia in West Africa.¹

In 1886 the General Convention by formal resolution recognised the duty incumbent on the Church of more vigorous work among the coloured people, and constituted a Commission to whom this work was, under the Board of Missions, more particularly relegated. This arrangement has ever since continued in force, and has been productive of good results, although the Church has by no means fully embraced the wide opportunities offered her for labour among this people.

The subject of missionary work among the Jews was discussed at the General Convention of 1841, at which time a number of Christian Jews residing in New York petitioned the Convention for a clergyman and a church. Four years later, the Rev. Mr. Labagh, a converted Jew, undertook this work in New York. He was succeeded by others, nearly all of whom were

¹ See "The American Church and the American Union," by the Rev. Henry Caswall, D.D., pp. 275-276.

converts. In 1859, an organisation was formed at the recommendation of the General Convention. This gave place to the present Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews. In a number of the principal cities, its operations are being carried on with more or less of encouragement. In some dioceses, there has been and is still considerable work outside of this society, although there is generally an apathy as to the cause which is most surprising.

Hardly anything connected with the purely missionary work of the Church possesses deeper interest than the story of Nashotah. It has about it much that is romantic and poetical in the best sense of the terms, and yet nothing could have been more practical, both in its design and in its execution. Fired by the earnest appeals of Bishop Kemper, a few undergraduates of the General Theological Seminary met for consultation as to their future plans, which before long developed into the foundation of what is now known as Nashotah House.¹ The work there was begun by three members of the class of 1841, William Adams, James Lloyd Breck,² and John Henry Hobart.³ As soon as they were ordained they went to the wilds of Wisconsin, and, after remaining a few months at Waukesha—where they lived in one room of a log house originally built by the Indians—they settled in 1842 on a charming tract of ground which was sub-

¹ Foremost among these youthful but far-seeing propagandists, was Arthur Cleveland Coxe, now Bishop of Western New York, to whom the Church has been on many occasions so greatly indebted for his eloquent advocacy of her missionary work.

² See pp. 285, 286.

³ Son of Bishop Hobart.

sequently named Nashotah. In very primitive quarters they took up their lodgings and began their missionary labours, which extended for many miles in every direction. Daily morning and evening prayer, with weekly Celebrations,¹ were established, and have never been intermitted. Almost immediately, some poor young men came to be prepared for the ministry, which has ever since remained the chief work of Nashotah. At the request of his associates, Breck was appointed head of the house. In 1850 Azel Dow Cole, who had been one of their classmates, was chosen to succeed Breck as President. No one could have worked more faithfully, and such was the confidence which he inspired, and such the real worth of the work done by the faculty and students, that the Seminary obtained year by year many valuable friends. But for a long while the daily bread depended almost literally upon the daily mail. No history of the American Church will record a much grander venture of faith and heroism. Hardships and privations were plentiful, but were all borne patiently and cheerfully. The undergraduates undertook everything that was necessary, labouring with their own hands for their support, and serving at the cook-stove and wash-tub. Much has been done of late years by way of additional buildings and endowments, while the ever-increasing roll

¹ At Nashotah, daily Celebrations have for some time past been the rule. In 1842, there was but one parish (S. Peter's, Ashtabula, Ohio) where even a weekly Celebration was provided. Others soon followed, notably S. Peter's Church, Philadelphia, under the rectorship of the Rev. William H. Odenheimer, afterwards Bishop of New Jersey, one of the model parish priests of his day.

of graduates comprises the names of some of the best bishops and priests in the land.¹

Breck, upon his retirement from Nashotah in 1850, moved further west, and, as the head of an associate mission,² began at Crow Wing and elsewhere a work among the Indians which subsequently assumed great importance. He also founded at Faribault, Minnesota, a Divinity School, and other educational establishments. His apostolic zeal took him next to the very confines of the land. Reaching Benicia, California, he made it the headquarters of an associate mission, and before long he inaugurated there S. Augustine's College and Grammar School, with a Divinity Hall attached, and afterwards S. Mary's Hall for girls. It was in the midst of these successful labours, that he died from overwork in 1876. No more manly, courageous, aggressive missionary has been granted to this century. While he was alive, his example was most stimulating, and his name ought ever to be held in high esteem.³

In 1853 or 1854, some of the clergy belonging to the Roman Church met in the city of Mexico to confer together as to what might be done to purify that communion of the corruptions which they believed to exist within it. A convocation, consisting

¹ For many years, Nashotah—as also the General Theological Seminary—has joined S. Augustine's Missionary College, Canterbury, in the special commemoration of S. Peter's Day.

² Dr. Breck was devoted to the idea of associate missions, which he may be said to have inaugurated in the United States.

³ See a most interesting "Life of Dr. Breck," by his brother, the Rev. Charles Breck, D.D.

at first of about twenty ecclesiastics, was organised, and for two years weekly meetings were held. The movement spread into the country, and when a memorial was addressed to the Pope, asking for the redress of their grievances, there were attached to it the signatures of not less than seventy-four clergymen. When Juarez became President, he espoused the cause of the reformers, and subsequently handed over to them two churches in the city of Mexico. In 1866, a presbyter, Rafael Diaz Martinez, was chosen bishop by "the faithful of the Mexican Episcopal Church," and, accompanied by his associate, Don Dominguez, in November of the same year he made application to the Presiding Bishop of the American Episcopal Church for his consecration. The constitutional provisions of this latter Church did not allow the granting of his request.

Two years later, a commission came to the United States and sought the aid of the same Church, without obtaining it directly. They secured, however, the co-operation of a Spanish-speaking clergyman, the Rev. Henry C. Riley, who returned with them, and entered zealously into such work as presented itself. In its prosecution he encountered, no doubt, considerable hardship and peril. Aguas, a priest of some reputation, joined him, and before long additional congregations were gathered and a synod was formally organised. Aguas was subsequently chosen bishop, but died within a few months of his election, before he was consecrated. Mr. Riley about the same time returned to the United States.

In October 1874, the Bishop of Delaware presented to the House of Bishops a Memorial from "Members of the Synod of the Church of Jesus in Mexico," praying the bishops "to take such measures as may lead to the granting of the episcopate, we being ready to give the necessary guarantees for the maintenance of the faith and the due order in the ministry of our Church."

The whole matter involved in the Memorial was referred to a special commission, consisting of the Bishops of Maryland¹ (Chairman), Delaware,² Ohio,³ Pennsylvania,⁴ Western New York,⁵ Pittsburg,⁶ and Long Island.⁷ As one result of their deliberations, the Bishop of Delaware undertook a provisional visitation, and made a thorough examination of the ground. He had a list given to him of thirty-nine separate congregations, numbering in all about three thousand souls. He confirmed one hundred and thirty persons in the city of Mexico, and ordained there seven persons, first as deacons, and within a few days as priests.

On his return to the United States, the Bishop carried a covenant with the Mexican Church, similar to that which had already been made with the Haitian Church, to be submitted to the House of Bishops. In this document, the Church of Jesus was recognised as a foreign Church, but it was to remain under the care and direction of the American Church until

¹ Whittingham.

² Lee.

³ Bedell.

⁴ Stevens.

⁵ Coxe.

⁶ Kerfoot.

⁷ Littlejohn.

it should have a sufficient number of bishops. The American Church was to consecrate one or more bishops, and jointly with them (until three bishops were consecrated) to administer the Episcopal government of the Mexican Church. The latter Church proclaimed its assent to "the doctrine, discipline, and worship of the former in all essential particulars."

Notwithstanding this agreement, some publications of a liturgical character were put forth to which sound objections concerning their orthodoxy were made by the Commission. Dr. Riley's delay in presenting amended forms for the proposed Book of Offices led to much unfavourable comment and no little want of confidence in him on the part of many. He seems at length to have satisfied the doubts of the various members of the Episcopal Commission, including its venerable chairman, who, during the latter stages of the transactions, was very ill at his residence in Baltimore, and not able to attend all the meetings of the Commission. The offices for Baptism and Holy Communion were read to him by the Bishop of Pittsburg, who was clearly under the impression at the time that he was in such a mental condition as would allow him to consider them carefully. His daughter, however (Miss M. H. Whittingham), who was in constant attendance upon him, has stated that at this period he was so enfeebled by his illness as not to be able to sustain thought and reflection for any considerable length of time. Indeed, during this very interview, it was necessary more than once to

suspend the reading of the Liturgy that he might be revived by his nurse. Miss Whittingham is entirely confident that there were many portions of it which he did not really hear, although to the Bishop of Pittsburg and to others not familiar with his peculiar condition he would seem (his eyes were closed throughout, as his manner was) to be comprehending it all. He himself, owing to this peculiarity, would think that he had heard and considered it all.¹ A document was signed by him subsequently, assenting to the acceptance of the offices as brought to him by the Bishop of Pittsburg.

All preliminaries having been, as it was thought, satisfactorily arranged, Dr. Riley was duly consecrated as Bishop of the Valley of Mexico, on St. John Baptist's Day, 1879, in Trinity Church, Pittsburg. His consecration had been ordered by the Presiding Bishop in accordance with the resolution by which the Commission was originally empowered to act. Some objection to this course was raised by those who contended that the constitutional provisions in cases of Episcopal elections had not been fully met. But although a majority of the whole number of bishops did not formally signify their approval, the Bishop of Delaware declared that no remonstrance was made to him, nor, so far as he

¹ This statement was made by Miss Whittingham directly to the author, who has also had the opportunity of examining many of the original documents (including the correspondence between the Bishops of Maryland and Pittsburg) bearing upon the case. It agrees likewise with the statements made by others, among them members of Bishop Whittingham's family, who were familiar with his condition during this period.

knew, to any member of the Commission against the consecration.¹

The course of Bishop Riley after his consecration alienated from him the sympathy and confidence of much the larger portion of his friends and supporters. By his protracted absence abroad, by his utter failure to comply with their reasonable requests, and chiefly by his not fulfilling his own pledges as to providing a proper Liturgy, he disappointed their long-cherished hopes.

At the instance of the Commission, then sitting with Bishop Riley as the Temporary Board of Administration provided for by Article III. of the covenant between the American bishops and "The Mexican Branch of the Catholic Church of our Lord Jesus Christ militant upon earth," Bishop Riley, on the 24th day of April 1884, resigned his jurisdiction as Bishop of the Valley of Mexico. At the same time he pledged himself to exercise no episcopal authority or perform episcopal acts in the said diocese or in the Republic of Mexico. He further promised to forbear all exercise of the functions of his office, except with the advice and consent of the Mexican Commission, or on the invitation of the ecclesiastical authority of some diocese for service in the diocese concerned, or in a vacant Missionary Jurisdiction by appointment of the Presiding Bishop.

The Commission withdrew the expressions of con-

¹ See *Journal of the General Convention*, 1886, pp. 23-25, 830-34. The Bishops of Connecticut (Williams) and Albany (Doane) had been appointed in the places of the Bishops of Maryland and Pittsburg, deceased.

fidence and commendation which they had given to Bishop Riley.

At the triennial meeting of the House of Bishops held in October 1883, the action of the Commission concerning Bishop Riley was reported and approved, it being understood that his relation to the Church in Mexico had entirely ceased.¹ The House of Bishops further accepted a subsequent report of the Commission, wherein they notified them of their having recognised the body known as the *Cuerpo Ecclesiastico* as the true representative and governing body of the Church in the Valley of Mexico; and that, during the abeyance of the autonomous Church, and in the absence of any episcopal authority, the members of the Church of Jesus had been received as a mission under the fostering care of the American Church. The Board of Missions, however, acted under this resolution only so far as to receive and disburse such money as was intrusted to them for the support of the American priest sent there by the Board on the nomination of the Presiding Bishop.

The Commission was discharged with the thanks of the House; and shortly afterwards, the Rev. William B. Gordon, a presbyter of the Diocese of Delaware, was appointed, on the nomination of the Presiding Bishop, to counsel and guide the clergymen and lay-readers who had asked for the fostering care of the American Church.

¹ At a meeting of the House of Bishops held in New York on St. Luke's Day, 1894, Bishop Riley was duly suspended from exercising all episcopal functions, and warned that, unless he was adjudged innocent of the charges against him, he would be deposed.

A great deal of unfavourable criticism has been bestowed upon this work by those who consider that, as the Roman Church was already established in Mexico, it was an intrusion on the part of another Episcopal Church to have anything to do with sending bishops there. No such position was taken in the House of Bishops.¹ In that House no one could have been more jealous on this point than the bishops belonging to the Commission. What induced them and others to join in the movement was the desire to prevent the establishment of a mere sect in Mexico.

It was further hoped that, by fully constituting a reformed branch of the Church there, other Mexicans might be persuaded to carry on their religious work under proper auspices. More than once the Bishop of Maryland and other members of the Commission, in advocating the giving to them of the Episcopate, referred to the evils which had resulted in the United States from the long delay in receiving the same gift from England. Consent was also given to Bishop Riley's consecration, on the ground that Bishop Seabury had been consecrated on similar conditions, and that a bishop was the first and indispensable requisite to the forming of a liturgy.

Indeed, the Commission may well claim to have faithfully laboured to secure all necessary safeguards in the matter of liturgical orthodoxy. Its members, by formal resolutions, urged upon the Church in Mexico an earnest consideration of the great principles of

¹ See Letter of the Bishop of Delaware, *Journal of General Convention*, 1886, p. 647.

historical continuity and primitive example, so as to render their work alike national and Catholic. They also recommended them, in making improvements in the forms already submitted, to keep in view the ancient Spanish offices.

In these efforts, as in all their actions, the Commission dealt with the matters intrusted to them provisionally, their chief desire being so to assist the Mexicans in the preliminary stages of the work as to enable them eventually to found their Church on such lines as would commend themselves to all who recognise the force of really Catholic principles. While it has been common to speak of the whole case as an imbroglio, and while, doubtless, some mistakes have been made in managing it, one thing may be safely asserted: no set of men ever acted more entirely in the fear of God and in the love of His Holy Catholic Church, or took greater pains to find the path of duty, and when found showed greater courage in following it to the end.

Upon the resignation, in 1893, of the Rev. Mr. Gordon, the Rev. Henry Forrester was nominated by the Presiding Bishop as his successor, and at once entered upon the discharge of his duties.

Offices for Morning and Evening Prayer, for the Administration of Holy Baptism and Holy Communion, based upon the Mozarabic Liturgy, and prepared by the Right Rev. Dr. Hale, Bishop of Cairo (an expert in such matters), have been adopted by the *Cuerpo Ecclesiastico*, with the approval of the Presiding Bishop and his episcopal advisers, and have been authorised for provisional use.

On account of the varied and important matters involved, and of some inaccurate statements made from time to time concerning it, a somewhat extended narrative is here given of the work undertaken in Mexico. This narrative, it may be said, has been submitted to all the surviving members of the Commission, and has been pronounced by them accurate, as concerns the facts herein related.

Work among deaf mutes has for a number of years engaged the special attention of the Church, and has been prosecuted with considerable success. Several from their number have been ordained to the Sacred Ministry, the first of whom was the Rev. Henry W. Syle, of Philadelphia. He was ordained to the Diaconate in 1876, and to the Priesthood in 1883.

This action by the ordaining bishop (Dr. Stevens, of Pennsylvania) was not taken without much deliberation. Considerable objection was raised at the time of the ordination to the Priesthood. Bishop Stevens, in the sermon preached upon the occasion and afterwards printed, gave his reasons for considering himself authorised to proceed.

The special and organised efforts for deaf mutes began in 1850. The Rev. Thomas Gallaudet, D.D., of New York, has been from the beginning especially devoted to this work.

There are about 50,000 deaf mutes in the country, the majority of whom are reached by the Church's mission, very few of the other religious bodies having any organised or permanent work among them.

The growth of the Church's missionary or aggressive

spirit was manifested, among many other ways, in the organising for her work of the services of Christian women. Prejudice and fear had stood in the way, but were at length sufficiently overcome to warrant a beginning in this direction. The first steps were taken by the Rev. Dr. Muhlenberg, who, in 1845, organised what was known as the Sisterhood of the Holy Communion, New York. It was not until 1852 that it was formally constituted, nor until the feast of the Purification, 1857, that the first sister was formally admitted. The brief office used on that occasion was prepared by Dr. Muhlenberg. The sister then admitted is the present Mother Superior of the Sisterhood of S. Mary.

In Baltimore the Rev. Horace Stringfellow inaugurated, in 1855, a similar organisation, with the cordial approval of the Bishop of Maryland. Out of this grew, in 1856, under the auspices of the Rev. Dr. C. W. Rankin, the Sisterhood of the Good Shepherd, which, in 1863, became a community. They began their work in his parish (S. Luke's), and afterwards laboured also, beginning in 1866, in the Church Home and Infirmary. In the earlier days these workers were called sometimes deaconesses and sometimes sisters, the former organisation gradually merging into the latter.

Other associations of a like character were formed in various parts of the country. In Mobile, Alabama, a Diocesan Order of Deaconesses was instituted in 1864; in New York, the Sisterhood of S. Mary, in 1865, the members having been at work for two years

previous to their formal admission; the Sisterhood of the Good Shepherd, New York, in 1869; the Deaconesses' Association of the Diocese of Long Island, in 1872.

Since the last date, a number of communities have been established, some of which have been disbanded, while others have considerably increased their numbers. Legislation has been had through the General Convention concerning Deaconesses; but in regard to Sisterhoods, it has been thought best to leave their regulation untrammelled by any canonical provisions.

In New York and Philadelphia, training homes for deaconesses are established under promising auspices. In the latter city, work belonging to such institutions was early begun, in connection with the Episcopal Hospital, under the sanction of Bishop Alonzo Potter, and with the co-operation of a layman already named, William Welsh.¹

At first, the services of trained and associated women were confined to the parishes to which they belonged; but gradually they were extended to institutions already established, or that grew out of their own labours. They were often summoned to dioceses far away from their original homes.

In addition to the societies already specified, and others arising in America, a number of English communities have established themselves in various parts of the country. They have been of invaluable help in all lines of Church-work, and enter largely into the ecclesiastical history of the day.

¹ See p. 281.

CHAPTER XV

AMERICAN CHURCHES IN EUROPE

Organisation of the churches at Paris, Rome, Florence, Geneva, Dresden, Nice, Lucerne—Advantages of these churches.

IN addition to what may be more technically called Foreign Missions, the American Church has maintained regular services in a number of European cities, intended particularly for its own members who may be sojourning or visiting there. The first place where such services were inaugurated was Paris. In the year 1836, the Rev. Mr. Thorn, an English clergyman, fitted up a chapel in good style at his own expense, and used the American Prayer-Book. Since then, great success has attended the efforts to supply the wants of the American colony in that city. In August 1858, the Rev. William O. Lamson began holding regular services, and in April 1859, organised the parish of Holy Trinity, of which he was elected the first rector. Under the rectorship of the present incumbent, the Rev. John B. Morgan, D.D., an elegant and costly church (with an adjoining parish-building) has been erected, which will compare favourably with any similar edifice anywhere. Various kinds of Church-work are undertaken by a staff of clergy, and a

second parish has recently been organised, under the name of S. Luke's.

American Church services have been held in Rome more or less openly in various places for a number of years. On Sunday, October 30, 1858, Bishop M'Ilvaine held a service in a private apartment, preaching, and celebrating the Holy Communion. On the feast of SS. Philip and James, in the following year, Bishop Alonzo Potter held a service at the American Legation, preaching, and administering Confirmation. Cardinal Antonelli took notice of this event in "a significant and warning remark" to the American Minister. The beginning of regular and continuous services dates from Sunday, November 20, 1859, when the Rev. William Chauncey Langdon, D.D., officiated at the American Legation, under the cover of whose protection only it was possible to hold such services. The congregation was almost immediately afterwards organised as Grace Church, and Dr. Langdon became the first rector. The Holy Communion was celebrated for the first time publicly on Sunday, December 4, 1859. Services were held thereafter in various places, including a chapel outside the walls of the city, the Papal Government having admonished the chaplain that they would not be permitted within, except under the cover of the Legation or Consulate. Under the incumbency of the present rector, the Rev. Robert J. Nevin, D.D., the commodious and beautiful church and rectory, now standing in the Via Nazionale, were erected, and in many other ways Church-work has been greatly prospered.

The name of S. Paul was given to the church,¹ which was consecrated on the feast of the Annunciation, 1876, by Bishop Littlejohn, who was then in charge of the American churches on the Continent.

American Church services were first held in Florence by the Rev. William C. Langdon, D.D., on Sunday, October 14, 1860. In November 1867, the Rev. Pierce Connelly established regular services there in an abandoned Roman Catholic chapel, where they have since been continuously maintained. The incumbency of the Rev. F. Ward Denys was unusually prosperous.

The first American Church service in Geneva was held by the Rev. Dr. Langdon, on Sunday, July 28, 1873, in the Temple Neuf. About a month later the organisation was perfected. On this occasion, Bishop Doane preached and administered Confirmation. Services were held during the winter of 1874, in the Cathedral of S. Pierre. The corner-stone of the present Emmanuel Church was laid, July 27, 1877, by General U. S. Grant, ex-President of the United States. The building was consecrated by Bishop Littlejohn on S. Bartholomew's Day, 1878.

At Dresden, this work was begun on the second Sunday after Christmas, January 3, 1869, in the hall of the Hotel de Pologne, by the Rev. John Anketell. On the Easter Monday following, the first vestry was chosen, and Mr. Anketell was elected rector. On Christmas Eve, 1871, Bishop Stevens of Pennsylvania made the first Episcopal visitation of the parish,

¹ Near by is the house of Pudens, where S. Paul undoubtedly preached.

preached, and confirmed eight persons. A convenient hall was used for services until the erection of the present attractive church (S. John's), whose cornerstone was laid by Bishop Littlejohn on Palm Sunday, March 18, 1883. It was consecrated by Bishop Lyman on S. John's Day, 1886. The Rev. T. F. Caskey has been rector since October 1, 1882, and during his incumbency a spacious rectory has been erected, of similar design to the church, and immediately adjoining that building.

The first public services in Nice were held in the Hotel Méditerranée, on Sunday, October 19, 1873, by the Rev. William A. M'Vickar, D.D. A suitable hall was soon afterwards secured, the lease being signed by the American minister in charge, acting for the congregation. On Thanksgiving Day, November 27, of the same year, the Church of the Holy Spirit was duly organised, and Dr. M'Vickar was elected rector. He was succeeded, early in 1877, by the Rev. John Cornell, through whose exertions chiefly the present handsome church building and rectory have been erected. These are not only free of debt, but there is an endowment fund of \$30,000. The church was first used for service in October 1887, and was consecrated December 13, 1888, by the Right Rev. Theodore B. Lyman, D.D., at that time in charge of the American churches on the Continent.

Some years ago, American Church services at Lucerne were begun by the Rev. J. Edgar Johnson, in the Hotel National. In 1892 a church was erected, named Christ Church, American Churchmen uniting

for this purpose with the Old Catholics, an arrangement that has thus far proved entirely satisfactory. It was formally opened by Bishop Doane, the bishop now in charge of these congregations. The present rector is the Rev. John H. Converse, who only officiates during the summer.

In addition to the places already named, American Church services have been held elsewhere more or less frequently. These various congregations are recognised under the canons as forming part of the American Church, and have a bishop assigned for their immediate oversight. The clergy ministering to them have organised a Convocation, which meets for business from time to time. They report nearly 1000 communicants, and contributions of over \$20,000 yearly. In many places, American Churchmen combine with members of the English Church in the maintenance of regular services.

The advantages resulting from the establishment of the churches here mentioned are numerous and manifold. They have maintained the devotion and fidelity of the Church's own members, amid surroundings calculated with many of them to promote remissness in these respects. They have been the means of bringing within her fold many who either had not similar opportunities at home, or had failed there to embrace them. They have also served to give to members of the Churches already established in these various places a more accurate, and, in some instances, a more favourable idea of what the American Church really is and does.

CHAPTER XVI

THE CHURCH'S EDUCATIONAL WORK

Founding of theological seminaries—The General Theological Seminary at New York—The Theological Seminary of Virginia, near Alexandria—Bexley Hall at Gambier, Ohio—The Seminary at Nashotah—The Berkeley Divinity School at Middletown, Connecticut—The Seabury Divinity School at Faribault, Minnesota—The Philadelphia Divinity School—The Theological School at Cambridge, Massachusetts—The Western Theological Seminary at Chicago—Training schools for coloured Divinity students—Collegiate and University institutions—Sunday-schools—The Church Temperance Society—Church periodicals—Other agencies.

FOR many years in the early history of the Church, the training of her sons for the Ministry was of necessity left to the individual efforts of such of her parochial clergy as had the ability and disposition to engage in this work. But when she became fully organised, the need of more specific and thorough education in this direction became more and more evident. Under the inspiration, doubtless, of Bishop Dehon, of South Carolina (a thoroughly educated man, who had graduated from Harvard in 1795, with highest honours), the representatives from that diocese brought the matter to the attention of the General Convention in 1814. Three years later, a Theological Seminary was established by vote of the Convention, and on the feast of SS. Philip and James, 1817, instruction was

commenced under its sanction in the city of New York. Drs. Samuel F. Jarvis¹ and Samuel H. Turner were the professors, and the students numbered six, two of whom (George W. Doane and Manton Eastburn) afterwards became bishops.

In 1820, the General Convention authorised the removal of the Seminary to New Haven, where it was opened in September of that year. In the following month, a theological school for the diocese was established by the New York Convention. By the death of Mr. Jacob Sherred, of the same city, in March 1821, a legacy of \$60,000 became available, either for a general or a diocesan seminary, in either case to be located within the State of New York. To utilise this liberal bequest, the General Convention at a special meeting, held in October 1821, resolved to remove the General Seminary to New York, where, having been merged with the Diocesan School, it was opened, in February 1822, with twenty-three students. In 1825, the first permanent building was erected on a large and valuable plot of ground, given for this purpose by Mr. Clement C. Moore, afterwards professor of Hebrew.²

From that time until the present, the Seminary has gone on with varying fortunes, except that for the past few years its growth and prosperity have been unchecked. For its more recent and very marked progress, the Church is indebted chiefly, under God, to the Dean, the Very Rev. Eugene Augustus Hoffman, D.D. It has received many, and in some instances munificent, gifts and bequests, and to-day is in the

¹ See p. 237.

² See p. 212.

possession of a very valuable property, with buildings almost the equal of any collegiate establishment in the land. Its endowments, lands, and buildings together may be reckoned as worth not less than \$1,500,000. During its more than seventy years of existence, it has matriculated over 2000 students, of whom forty-eight have become bishops. In 1893-4, the whole number of students was 145, representing 41 dioceses.

While as a general institution, the claims and advantages of the Seminary in New York may be fairly recognised as superior to those of any similar institution, its especial advocates have no occasion to regret the existence of Diocesan and other Divinity Schools, of which there are now quite a number. The Theological Seminary of the Diocese of Virginia was opened in Alexandria in 1823, chartered in 1854, and now numbers among its graduates nearly 900, of whom twenty-two have been made bishops. Fully fifty of them have gone as foreign missionaries. At times, its students have represented more than fifteen different dioceses.

In 1826, Bishop Chase developed educational enterprises which included a theological department, and the first alumni graduated in 1828. Bexley Hall was erected in 1839, and is now an integral part of Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio. Over 225 names belong to its list of graduates.

Some account has already been given of the founding in 1841 of Nashotah House, Wisconsin, whose alumni now number more than 250.¹

¹ *Supra*, p. 284.

The first graduates of the Berkeley Divinity School, at Middletown, Connecticut, received their diplomas in 1850. They have been followed by nearly 400.¹ The Seabury Divinity School at Faribault, Minnesota, was founded by the Rev. James Lloyd Breck in 1858, and has about 110 alumni. The Philadelphia Divinity School was founded about the same time by Bishop Alonzo Potter, and the Rev. George Emlen Hare, D.D.² It has 265 graduates. The Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Massachusetts, was opened in 1867, and has 190 names on its roll of graduates. The Western Theological Seminary was inaugurated at Chicago in 1885. It was founded and partially endowed by Tolman Wheeler, a munificent giver to many good objects.

In addition to these institutions, theological education is given more or less formally in classes in a number of dioceses, and several of the Church colleges include it in their curriculum. This is notably so in the case of the University of the South,³ where, in the twenty years since this department has been in existence, 125 students have been registered. Of late years, special provision has been made for the instruction of coloured men looking towards the ministry. The chief institu-

¹ P. 75.

² Dr. Hare was also for many years the honoured Head Master of the Episcopal Academy, Philadelphia.

³ The domain of this University consists of about 10,000 acres, upon a part of which several handsome permanent buildings have been erected. Others are contemplated, according to elaborate plans already adopted. It was, one may say, inaugurated in 1856, although it was not till 1860 that the corner-stone of the first building was laid. The Civil War was for several years a barrier to its growth.

tions for this purpose are Hoffman Hall, Nashville, Tennessee, and King Hall, Washington, D.C., besides which there are provisions of a similar kind at S. Augustine's Training School in Raleigh, North Carolina, and at the Bishop Payne Divinity School, Petersburg, Virginia.

The subject of Christian Education, apart from strictly theological learning, very early engaged the minds of American Churchmen, as we have already seen.¹ They have, in subsequent periods, shown more or less interest in it. As yet, however, there is no great institution to which they can point as the permanent result of their efforts in this direction.

Not a few Church Colleges have been started. Some of them have for a while prospered, but eventually have either totally disappeared, or gone on with diminished force. Mention has been made of Trinity College, which in 1845 became the successor of Washington College. Among the distinctively ecclesiastical institutions of learning, this remains to-day the most prosperous and generally influential. Kenyon College, founded in 1828, has also an honourable history, and an encouraging prospect.² The University of the South bids fair to attain a high position.³ Hobart College, Geneva, New York, was begun as an academy in 1811, and has won a good reputation. In 1825 it was chartered as Geneva College, Hobart Free College in 1852, Hobart College in 1860; being largely indebted to Bishop Hobart and Trinity Church, New York. Lehigh University, at South Bethlehem,

¹ P. 55.

² P. 305.

³ P. 306.

Pennsylvania, was munificently founded in 1865 by Asa Packer of Mauch Chunk, Pennsylvania, is under the auspices of the Church, and has attained an enviable position among polytechnic institutions.

S. Stephen's College, Annandale, New York, was founded in 1860, chiefly with reference to the preparation of young men looking forward to a further course of study at the General Theological Seminary, although its benefits are not confined exclusively to such students. It owes its origin to Bishops H. Potter and Seymour, and to a large-hearted layman, Mr. John Bard.

Racine College, in Wisconsin, founded by the Rev. Roswell Park, D.D., 1853, and ever since in operation, has done valuable service to the Church. It is hoped that in the near future it may again occupy the field of usefulness so eminently belonging to it under the Wardenship of the Rev. Dr. De Koven.¹

A number of preparatory Church schools, for both sexes, are in successful operation throughout the country, and are doing a valuable work in leavening the mass of America's future men and women. In some colleges and universities also which are not under the auspices of the Church, she is endeavouring by the erection of halls, whence specific religious influences shall emanate, to make up somewhat for the deficiency to which reference has already been made. This is notably the case at Ann Arbor in connection with the University of Michigan, one of the foremost institutions of learning in the country.

¹ See pp. 258, 259.

The whole topic of definite religious and ecclesiastical instruction is more and more forcing itself upon the consciences of Churchmen, and there seems reason for hoping that in the coming century a better record in this respect will be made. To this end there was constituted by the General Convention of 1889 the Church University Board of Regents, whose agency in the matter promises to be very helpful.

Mention of Sunday-schools is made in the records of Christ Church, Philadelphia, in the year 1788. John Wesley is said to have had one in Savannah even earlier.¹ They did not come into general use in New York until the year 1814. There had, however, been in that city a Charity school (founded in 1709), in which tuition was given every day in the week, religious instruction being reserved chiefly for Sunday. Bishop Whittingham² did much as a young man, in connection with the Church Sunday-school Union, to promote the interests of this branch of work.

As bearing directly upon the really educational work of the Church, the efforts in behalf of Temperance Reform may well be included in the present chapter. For many years these efforts were rather desultory, if not individual. They were confined also to total abstainers. It was not until 1881 that the Church Temperance Society was established, whose basis is the co-operation in this work on equal terms of all its friends, whether total abstainers or not. On such a Scriptural and reasonable basis as this, there is no

¹ "Early History of the Church in Georgia," by Bishop Stevens, p. 37.

² See p. 328.

good excuse for any opponent of drunkenness not becoming an active member of the Society. When such general sympathy with the cause is shown, the Church will be able by this means more, perhaps, than by any other, to gain the confidence of the whole nation; for this one form of Intemperance is, confessedly, the most common and the most injurious of any. It may be added that the American Society is modelled upon the lines of the Church of England Temperance Society, which has been the means of accomplishing great results in the mother country.

The *Churchman's Magazine*, published in New York in 1804, was the first periodical publication of an ecclesiastical or religious character. It was succeeded in 1816 by the *Christian Journal*. The province even of weekly papers in the earlier days was not so much the communication of Church news—such items occupied a very inconsiderable part of their space—as of instruction in the main doctrines of the Church, by editorials, by correspondence, and by selections from approved standards. In the scarcity of books bearing on these subjects, the agency of such periodicals was potent and very helpful.

The leading weekly papers, with their most celebrated editors, have been:—The *Churchman*, of New York, and the Rev. Samuel Seabury, D.D.; the *Banner of the Cross*, Philadelphia, the Rev. John Coleman, D.D.; the *Church Journal*, New York, the Rev. John Henry Hopkins, Jr., D.D.; the *Episcopal Recorder*, afterwards *Episcopal Register*, of Philadelphia; the *North-Western Church*, afterwards the *American*

Churchman (the Rev. Hugh Miller Thompson, D.D.), of Chicago, whose successor, the *Living Church*, is now published in the same city; the *Standard of the Cross*, of Cleveland, Ohio (the Rev. W. C. French, D.D.), now merged with *The Church*, into the *Church Standard*, of Philadelphia; the *Gospel Messenger*, of Utica, New York, the Rev. John C. Rudd, D.D., and the Rev. William T. Gibson, D.D.; and the *Southern Churchman*, the Rev. Daniel F. Sprigg, D.D., Richmond, Virginia.

In addition to weekly periodicals, a number of monthly and quarterly publications have from time to time been undertaken, and have proved very serviceable to the cause of Christian education. The *Church Review* (a quarterly) maintained its existence for many years, and with it the name of the Rev. N. S. Richardson, D.D., ought to be associated. The *Church Eclectic*, under the editorship from the beginning of the Rev. Dr. Gibson, well fills an important place in this direction.

CHAPTER XVII

EFFORTS IN BEHALF OF CHURCH UNITY

First steps in this direction—The Muhlenberg Memorial—Commission on the subject appointed by the House of Bishops—Declaration by the Bishops at Chicago in 1886—Correspondence with other religious bodies—The Chicago Declaration adopted substantially by the Lambeth Conference of 1888—The general effect of the movement—The Rev. Dr. Shields and his help.

THE great and pressing subject of Church Unity must ever be in the minds and hearts of His disciples Who Himself prayed that these all might be one.

It was first brought in a formal way before the American Church as early as 1792, when at the General Convention of that year the House of Bishops, at the instance of the Bishop of Virginia, adopted the declaration already quoted.¹

Many years elapsed before the Church was moved in like manner to take action in this direction. This was in 1853, through a Memorial addressed to the House of Bishops, signed by Dr. Muhlenberg and other influential clergymen, representing various schools of theology.²

In 1856 a Commission on Church Unity was elected

¹ See p. 172, *sqq.*

² Dr. Muhlenberg himself described the Memorial as an effort to emancipate the Episcopate and unsectarise the Church.

by that House, in accordance with the recommendation of a special committee appointed in 1853, who made an elaborate report upon the various subjects treated of in the Memorial.

The matter remained very much in abeyance until 1868, when the House of Deputies passed a resolution in favour of the appointment of a Joint Committee as an organ of communication with other branches of the Church and with the different Christian bodies who might desire information or conference on the subject. The House of Bishops did not concur with this action, but appointed from their own number a Commission on Church Unity, consisting of the Bishops of Ohio, Maryland, North Carolina, Rhode Island, and Western New York.

Again a period of inaction ensued. In 1886, at the General Convention in Chicago, a committee of bishops (Long Island, Ohio, Central Pennsylvania, Michigan, and Louisiana) was appointed "to consider the matter of the Reunion of Christendom."¹ In their report they recited the fact that the Commission appointed in 1853 had formally set forth and advocated sundry suggestions and recommendations intended to accomplish the great end in view. They further recalled the action taken in 1880 by the House of Bishops in Council, in answer to appeals made by Christians in foreign countries struggling to free themselves from the usurpations of the Bishop

¹ A Memorial on the subject was presented at this session containing the names of over 1100 clergymen and of over 3000 laymen, obtained chiefly through the efforts of the Rev. S. F. Hotchkiss.

of Rome. This action consisted of a declaration to the effect that "in virtue of the solidarity of the Catholic Episcopate, in which we have part, it is the right and duty of all National Churches having the primitive Faith and Order, and of the several bishops of the same, to protect in the holding of that Faith and the recovering of that Order those who have been wrongfully deprived of both; and this without demanding a rigid uniformity, or the sacrifice of the national traditions of worship and discipline, or of their rightful autonomy."

The committee then went on to make the following declaration "to all whom it may concern, and especially to our fellow-Christians of the different Communion in our land, who, in their several spheres, have contended for the religion of Christ:—

"(1.) Our earnest desire that the Saviour's prayer that we all may be one may, in its deepest and truest sense, be speedily fulfilled;

"(2.) That we believe that all who have been duly baptized with water in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, are members of the Holy Catholic Church;

"(3.) That in all things of human ordering or human choice relating to modes of worship and discipline, or to traditional customs, this Church is ready in the spirit of love and humility to forego all preferences of her own;

"(4.) That this Church does not seek to absorb other Communion, but rather, co-operating with them on the basis of a common Faith and Order to discountenance schism, to heal the wounds of the Body of Christ,

and to promote the Charity which is the chief of Christian graces, and the visible manifestation of Christ to the world.

“But furthermore, we do hereby affirm that the Christian unity now so earnestly desired by the memorialists can be restored only by the return of all Christian Communions to the principles of unity exemplified by the undivided Catholic Church during the first ages of its existence, which principles we believe to be the substantial deposit of Christian Faith and Order committed by Christ and His Apostles to the Church unto the end of the world, and therefore incapable of compromise or surrender by those who have been ordained to be its stewards and trustees for the common and equal benefit of all men.

“As inherent parts of this sacred deposit, and therefore as essential to the restoration of unity among the divided branches of Christendom, we account the following, to wit:—

“(I.) The Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament as the Revealed Word of God ;

“(II.) The Nicene Creed as the sufficient statement of the Christian Faith ;

“(III.) The two Sacraments — Baptism and the Supper of the Lord—ministered with unfailing use of Christ’s words of institution and of the elements ordained by Him ;

“(IV.) The Historic Episcopate locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and peoples called of God into the Unity of His Church.

"Furthermore, deeply grieved by the sad divisions which afflict the Christian Church in our own land, we hereby declare our desire and readiness, so soon as there shall be any authorised response to this Declaration, to enter into brotherly conference with all or any Christian bodies seeking the restoration of the organic Unity of the Church with a view to the earnest study of the conditions under which so priceless a blessing might happily be brought to pass."

This report was adopted and communicated to the House of Deputies, who subsequently asked again for the appointment of a Joint Commission on the subject. This action was finally concurred in, and it was made the province of the Commission to communicate to the organised Christian bodies of the country the Declaration set forth by the House of Bishops, and to hold themselves ready to enter into brotherly conference with all or any such bodies seeking the restoration of the organic unity of the Church.

This Commission reported to the General Convention of 1889 that they were in active correspondence with like commissions appointed by the following bodies: The Presbyterian General Assembly; the General Synod of Evangelical Lutherans; the United General Council South of the Evangelical Lutherans; the Provincial Synod of the Moravians. It was also reported that there was a probability of the acceptance of the bishops' basis by several organisations of Christians. The members of the Church Commission expressed their "earnest wish, in the interests of the promotion of Christian Unity, that on all stated occa-

sions of public worship, opportunity be given to every congregation of Christian men to repeat the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and to hear the Decalogue read to them."

In 1892 the Commission reported a conference with a committee of Presbyterians, with whom there was a full and frank interchange of opinion, the Presbyterians acknowledging that corporate union and unity must be the result of the Commission's quest. They add that "a corporate body without a polity instantly develops anarchy." "The necessity for the declaration of our fourth proposition as an essential element of unity becomes plain and unmistakable." In addition to the Commission, there is an unofficial organisation known as the Church Unity Society, whose endeavours are in the same direction.

Additional significance and importance were given to the bishops' Declaration because of its adoption as the basis of what was promulgated on the subject by the Lambeth Conference of 1888. The first two articles were then made to read as follows:—

"(I.) The Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as containing all things necessary to salvation, and as being the rule and ultimate standard of faith.

"(II.) The Apostles' Creed, as the Baptismal Symbol, and the Nicene Creed, as the sufficient statement of the Christian Faith."

The third was altered by the addition of the words "Ordained by Christ Himself," after the words "The two Sacraments." The fourth was adopted *verbatim* as put forth at Chicago.

By the widespread publication and discussion of what is popularly known as "The Quadrilateral," much attention has been drawn to the subject of which it treats, and while it may be premature at this time to enumerate any practical results, yet from what has actually transpired it is safe to affirm that the cause of Christian Unity at the close of the nineteenth century occupies a much more advantageous and hopeful position than was the case at its beginning.

Among those outside of the Church who have manifested a lively interest in the matter, no one, perhaps, has more contributed to its better understanding than the Rev. Dr. Charles W. Shields, a prominent Presbyterian divine. His recent work entitled "The Historic Episcopate" is in every way a remarkable and helpful publication. Unhesitatingly accepting the first three articles of the Declaration, he gives to the fourth a generous interpretation that materially aids the object he has so much at heart.

CHAPTER XVIII

REVISION OF THE PRAYER-BOOK AND OF THE HYMNAL

Joint Committee on Liturgical Revision appointed in 1880—Its Report in 1883—Acted upon finally in 1892—The chief changes adopted—Revision of the Hymnal—Action of the General Conventions of 1859, 1868, 1871, 1874—The addition of the Evangelical Hymns—A new Commission appointed in 1886. Final action in 1892—Printing of the Canticles and Psalter—Oldest surpliced choirs—Their discontinuance and revival—Introduction of vested female choristers.

ALLUSION has been made, in connection with the question of Church Unity, to the memorial of Dr. Muhlenberg and others, presented to the House of Bishops in 1853. In the same memorial, the matter of Liturgical Revision was discussed. In 1856, the House adopted resolutions looking to greater flexibility or variety in the use of the Book of Common Prayer, and to special services in harmony therewith. In 1859 the House of Deputies complained that this action had disturbed the minds of many, both as to its effect and as to its constitutionality; but the bishops declined to reconsider their decision. As time went on, the almost superstitious reverence for the Prayer-Book which forbade even the correction of distinct typographical errors, and ignored the changes which a hundred years had wrought in the

country, yielded to the conviction that it was expedient at least to discuss the question of some alteration by way of enrichment. At the General Convention held in 1880, a resolution offered by the Rev. William R. Huntington, D.D., was adopted, by which there was constituted a Joint Committee of both Houses, which was to consider and report whether "the changed conditions of the national life do not demand certain alterations in the Book of Common Prayer, in the direction of liturgical enrichment and increased flexibility of use." In the House of Deputies, out of forty-three dioceses represented by the clergy, thirty-three voted in its favour; and out of thirty-five dioceses represented by the laity, twenty voted in its favour.

In 1883 this Committee reported one hundred and ninety-six separate alterations and additions, which they recommended for adoption. These were all submitted, under the two rules which the Committee had early laid down as those which they should observe in proceeding with their work. One was to the effect that no alteration should be made in the Prayer-Book touching either statements or standards of doctrine, and the other, that in any suggestions the Committee should be guided by those principles of liturgical construction and ritual use already recognised in that book. Such changes as were approved, either on the recommendation of the Committee or on the motion of other members of the Convention, were made known (as provided for by the Constitution) to the Convention of every diocese, and were brought up for final

adoption at the General Convention of 1886. These numbered one hundred and eighty-two, of which only ninety-four came to a final vote, and eighty-seven were adopted. At this Convention additional changes were approved, these being adopted in 1889 to the number of seventeen. In the latter year still further changes were proposed, and forty-three of the fifty-two then submitted were finally adopted in 1892. Of the whole number (about one hundred and fifty) a considerable part covered matters of comparatively minor importance, having to do with the elucidation of rubrical obscurities, or inaccuracies. It took twelve resolutions to readjust the rubrics in the Institution Office.

Besides these alterations and additions, there were made in 1892 (on the recommendation of a joint-committee which had been appointed in 1889 to prepare and submit for approval a standard Prayer-Book) a large number of corrections of typographical and other inaccuracies, some of them scarcely less important than the other changes already noted.

The whole matter attracted great attention, and interest in its accomplishment remained unflagging to the end. Much research and scholarship were exhibited on every side, and happily there was almost an entire absence of anything like partisan controversy. All parties were sincerely desirous of making such a revision as should, while fairly reflecting the convictions and wants of the present generation, be in entire harmony with really Catholic rule and tradition. It would be quite impossible here to note all the various changes now incorporated in a book which, it is hoped,

may not be materially altered for another century. An impartial examination of them cannot fail to persuade any one that there has been a distinct and considerable gain in the directions in which the labours of the Revisers were from the first engaged. Among these Revisers, it will not be amiss to mention three to whom the Church is especially indebted, both for their assiduous work, and for their charitable consideration for all lawful taste and prejudice—the Right Rev. Dr. William C. Doane, Bishop of Albany; the Rev. William R. Huntington, D.D.; and the Rev. Samuel Hart, D.D. It was a delicate and complicated undertaking, and its happy conclusion was everywhere hailed with devout thankfulness.

Chief among these changes, the following may be mentioned: the addition of the Feast of the Transfiguration to the Calendar, of Sentences in Morning and Evening Prayer, and of Versicles in Evening Prayer; the occasional shortening of Morning and Evening Prayer; the insertion of the *Magnificat* and of the *Nunc Dimittis*, and of the full text of the *Benedictus*; the addition of Special Prayers, *e.g.*, for the Unity of God's People, for Missions, for Fruitful Seasons; of a second Collect, Epistle, and Gospel for Christmas Day and Easter Day; of a lesson in the Order of Confirmation; of additional Prayers in the Burial Office; the printing of the Canticles and Psalms with the musical colon; the requirement of the use of the Nicene Creed on certain festivals; the printing of the Articles of Religion at the end of the Prayer-Book with a distinct title-page; and the printing of what is

"commonly called the Nicene Creed" in its place in the Communion Office.

It had long been felt that some revision of the Hymnal of the Church was wanted,¹ as well to be rid of the poorer ones among Tate and Brady's Selections from the Psalms, as to add to the meagre collection of hymns. Accordingly in 1859 a joint-committee on the subject was appointed by the General Convention. In 1865 the Bishops set forth sixty-five additional hymns, and a commission of their number was empowered to license additional ones until the next Convention. In 1868 the sixty-five were adopted and allowed to be bound up with the Prayer-Book, and the Bishops were authorised to license hymns from the collections known as "Hymns for Church and Home" and "Hymns Ancient and Modern." In 1871 a Hymnal was reported, and, in addition to the hymns then ordinarily bound up with the Prayer-Book, authorised. Its use was to begin on the Feast of the Epiphany, 1872. The copyright was vested in the trustees of the Fund for the Relief of the Widows and Orphans of Clergymen, and of Aged, Infirm, and Disabled Clergymen, to which fund a royalty of ten per cent. was to be paid.

The Hymnal was altered again in 1874, and consisted of sixty of the former selection of Psalms, and two hundred and seventy-one new hymns, while a

¹ In the original collection the hymns numbered only twenty-seven. In 1808 there were thirty added. In 1832 the total number of hymns was two hundred and twelve, while a selection from the Psalms in metre was made to the extent of one hundred and twenty-four.

number of the old ones were dropped. It was not allowed to be bound up with the Prayer-Book.

In 1880, what are styled the Evangelical Hymns—the *Magnificat*, the Song of Simeon, and that of Zacharias—were added to the Hymnal, as they stand in the English Prayer-Book. Up to this time the *Benedictus* in the American Prayer-Book consisted only of the first four verses; while the other two hymns were not found there at all.

In 1886 the General Convention appointed a joint-committee to which was referred the duty of submitting a revised Hymnal, with authority to call to its aid any such persons skilled in hymnody as they might select. In 1889 an improved Hymnal was reported, which, having been considered, was recommitted to a commission, who laid before the General Convention of 1892 an elaborate report on the whole subject. After much deliberation, a still further improved Hymnal was adopted and licensed for use until the meeting of the General Convention in 1895. A resolution to allow it to be bound up with the Prayer-Book was not adopted. At the same time, a joint-commission was appointed to make a pointing for the chanting of the Canticles in Morning and Evening Prayer, with authority to print it in the Hymnal as an Appendix. The Psalms had already in the Revision of the Prayer-Book been pointed with the musical colon.

The oldest boy choir of which there appears to be any record belonged to S. Michael's Church, Charleston, South Carolina. In 1798 there was a bill for "washing the surplaces (*sic*) of clergy and children." A little

earlier the vestry requested the rector to entertain, at their expense, six of the orphan boys on Sunday, as "an incitement for their better performance of the Service;" and in 1807 the organist is requested to have at least twelve choir-boys. In 1816 a parishioner of Christ Church, Philadelphia, left by will a share in the Bank of Pennsylvania, of the value of \$400, in trust, as the nucleus of a fund "for teaching six boys as a choir to sing in the orchestra" of that church.

Long before the middle of the century, nearly all such choirs had disappeared. During the famous debate, in 1844, concerning the election of the Rev. Dr. Hawks to the Episcopate, the Rev. Dr. Mead of Connecticut, in describing one of them which Dr. Hawks had in S. Thomas's Hall, Flushing, said, "This is the only instance of the use of the surplice in that way I have ever known." In 1850 these choirs were revived, first by the Rev. Dr. Muhlenberg, at the Church of the Holy Communion, New York. In 1858 Trinity Church in the same city introduced one; but there, as elsewhere, the choristers were not at first vested in surplices—appearing simply in their every-day costume. As late as 1871 (such choirs being then found in sixteen dioceses) a clergyman of the diocese of Ohio was presented by his Bishop for trial, on the ground of violation of the doctrine and discipline of the Church, and of his ordination vow, because he had refused, at the Bishop's request, to disband his surpliced choir and give up processional singing.¹

¹ The same bishop refused to consecrate a church in his diocese until the panels in the altar were sawed out.

Several ineffectual attempts were made to bring him to trial; but finally he discontinued both practices, under protest.

During more recent years, commencing about 1890, women have been introduced with men and boys into choirs, in vestments—in some instances peculiar to themselves; in others, such as have hitherto been worn exclusively by male singers. This latter feature has not met with general approval, some bishops publicly condemning it.

CHAPTER XIX

LATER ECCLESIASTICAL LEADERS

Bishop Alonzo Potter—Rev. Dr. Mahan—Dr. Evans—Bishop Whittingham—The Rev. Dr. Tyng—The Rev. Dr. Muhlenberg—Church Hospitals—Hon. Murray Hoffman—Bishop Horatio Potter—Governor Baldwin—Dr. Shattuck—Bishop Brooks.

WHERE so many men have exhibited such ability and consecration, it seems almost invidious to select only a few more names for commemoration in the present volume. And yet there are some not already mentioned which may, with entire propriety, be recorded as contributing to the general results which go to make up our history. The third Bishop of Pennsylvania, the Right Rev. Alonzo Potter, D.D., LL.D., was among the most sagacious and practical prelates of his day (1800–1865). His plans of Church extension and benevolence were large and costly; but such was his wisdom, and the people's faith in his administrative ability, that ready hands were always found to co-operate with him for their successful accomplishment. Not a few flourishing institutions owe their origin chiefly to him. His intellectual force and spiritual fervour were recognised by all.¹

Among the men of genius, none were more remark-

¹ See pp. 297, 306.

able than the Rev. Dr. Milo Mahan (1819-1870), chiefly known as the Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the General Theological Seminary. When he was not thirty years of age, Dr. Muhlenberg, who had taught him as a lad, styled him the first man as to intellect in the Church, young or old. His learning was vast and varied. He was an authority on almost any point in controversy. He was especially successful in clearing away Roman doubts from men's minds, and in settling their consciences firmly and intelligently upon the basis of true Catholicity. His genial disposition and keen wit made him in all circles a most delightful companion.

Among the laymen belonging to this period, very few were better known, and very few at any time did better service to the Church, than Hugh Davey Evans, LL.D., of Baltimore. Both in his own diocese (Maryland), and in the various ecclesiastical councils with which he was connected, and as editor of the *True Catholic*, he became one of the most eminent and honoured of those teaching laymen, who, as his Bishop said of him, "shine forth from time to time in adornment of the doctrine of Christ by vindication in their own persons of the rights and obligations of the universal priesthood in His mystical Body, the visible Church on earth."

His diocesan, the Right Rev. William Rollinson Whittingham, D.D., LL.D. (1805-1879), was recognised on every hand as the most learned bishop of his day. From early childhood he had shown great aptitude for studies in various directions, and his

attainments in theological literature made him an authority as to accuracy and fulness that could not be gainsaid. His devotion to the work of his office was very marked, and his advocacy, both with pen and voice, of Church principles, did much to win for them loyal disciples in every section of the land. His firm faith never showed itself more conspicuously than in his really eloquent appeals—some of which are still remembered as surpassingly effective—for greater aggressiveness in missionary work. As an illustration of his fervid preaching, it may be mentioned that when still a young man he delivered in Grace Church, New York, a sermon immediately after the great fire of 1835. After the service, a stranger waited upon him in the vestry, and asked him to lend the discourse which he had just heard. Whittingham declined. The gentleman continuing to urge his request, the preacher said he would not lend the sermon, but would give it. This he did, and the next day he received from the stranger a cheque for \$20,000, to be applied to such charities as he might choose.

He was decidedly in advance of many of his contemporaries in advocating the creation of smaller dioceses—a subject which he was particularly well fitted to discuss from his extensive knowledge of ecclesiastical history. At the Convention of the New York diocese in 1837, he made an able argument in this direction, which was combated by many prominent colleagues.¹

¹ The division of this large diocese (which then comprised the entire State of New York) was shortly afterwards accomplished. Since then three other divisions have been made in that portion of the State

His convictions were always very strong, and at times he encountered much opposition; but no controversialist was more fair and chivalrous.

There died about the same time (1878) another man of strong convictions, which, however, led him into the very opposite direction, so far as Churchmanship was concerned—the Rev. Stephen H. Tyng, D.D. For a number of years he was the recognised and conspicuous leader of those who belonged to what is known as the Evangelical school of theology. It was in Philadelphia (first at S. Paul's Church, and afterwards at the Church of the Epiphany), and in New York, while rector of S. George's Church, that his ministry was chiefly exercised. His personality was striking, his courage invincible, and his zeal most constant; while his devout consecration to his Master's work was very evident. Although in the beginning of his ministry he was anything but successful in extempore preaching, he eventually became quite renowned in this regard, and during the height of his activity, was, in the judgment of many, the most effective platform speaker in America. His administrative abilities were also of a high order. In nothing did these show themselves more distinctly than in his arrangement of his Sunday-schools and of his parish missions. At one time he had as many as two thousand children in these schools, and could, it is said, call them all by their names.

The Rev. William Augustus Muhlenberg, D.D.

which continued to be known as the Diocese of New York. It is in contemplation to make shortly two more dioceses within the same territory.

(1796-1877), was a man who combined many of the qualities possessed by the two distinguished clergymen last named. His Churchmanship was mixed; but he was intensely loving and practical, and very winning in his ways. In some of his discourses and practices, it would have been easy to rank him with either school of theology; and few men have had more completely the confidence of the whole Church. Thus he was enabled to commend some most important projects without their receiving any partisan badge. More, perhaps, to him than to any one else is due the establishment of the weekly Celebration and weekly Offertory, the greater interest in and higher tone of Church music, the preaching in the surplice, the division of the offices on Sunday morning, the daily service, the free-church system, and Sisterhoods. It may be that as to some of these things there were other clergymen in advance of him as to the point of time. But from the character already ascribed to him, these things came to many from him without that prejudice which their establishment elsewhere created. Moreover, the nearness of his church to the General Theological Seminary induced many of its students to attend, who became more or less indoctrinated with his practices.

To him also may be chiefly attributed the rise of the various Church institutions, now happily so numerous, for the care of the poor, the sick, and the afflicted. The first to take shape was S. Luke's Hospital, at present large and very prosperous. The beginning of the fund for its establishment was one half (amounting only to a little more than \$30) of a collection at his

church on S. Luke's Day, 1846. S. Johnland, on Long Island, was the chief outcome in later years of his benevolent ideas.¹

He was much interested in the hymnody of the Church, to which he made several contributions which became very popular. Especially was this the case with the hymn "I would not live away." He devoted much of his time in the earlier years of his life to educational matters, and founded several schools. The principal one of these was S. Paul's College, Flushing, which had among its students not a few who afterwards became famous in various walks of life, and which also served as the model for a number of similar schools.

It would indeed be hard to over-estimate the helpful influence of his long and industrious life. "He was, perhaps beyond any man in his time—whether bishop, priest, or layman—the common property of the Church throughout the land. Scarcely any important movement can be named peculiar to the last forty or fifty years of our Church life, and which will be likely to tell upon the next half-century of that life, that he did not originate or help others to originate."²

New York has, naturally enough, furnished the Church with many recognised leaders, both clerical and lay. Among the latter the Hon. Murray Hoffman, LL.D. (1791–1878), was conspicuous, because

¹ The Episcopal Hospital in Philadelphia was established in the year 1851, chiefly through the exertions of Bishop Alonzo Potter and William Welsh.

² From the Annual Address of the Bishop of Long Island, in 1877.

not only of his general ability and devotion, but also especially for his contributions to the study of Ecclesiastical Law, in which department he soon became an acknowledged authority.¹

The services rendered to the Church at a critical period by Bishop Horatio Potter² (1802–1887) cannot be too gratefully remembered. First, as Provisional Bishop, and afterwards, upon Bishop Onderdonk's death, as Bishop of New York, he was beset with many trying and anxious questions, whose just and happy settlement required an unusual amount of courage, wisdom, and impartiality. These qualities he was enabled, by God's grace, to exemplify in such a manner as to bring unity and peace where much unrest, controversy, and foreboding had existed. His other qualities easily made for him a most influential place in the councils of the Church.

No layman contributed more in every way to the growth and prosperity of the Church than the Hon. Henry P. Baldwin of Detroit, Michigan (1814–1892). Esteemed alike as a Churchman and a citizen—holding in both capacities offices of distinguished honour—his efforts were always most cheerfully and liberally put forth to advance every good cause. In the West especially, his support and maintenance of Church principles were of great and permanent value.

Another layman should have at least a brief commemoration in this volume—Dr. George C. Shattuck, of Boston. Intelligent, enthusiastic, and devout, he was

¹ See, *e.g.*, his treatise on "The Ritual Law of the Church."

² Brother of Bishop Alonzo Potter.

for many years a familiar figure in the ranks of the Church's most earnest workers. He will be remembered chiefly, perhaps, as the generous founder (in 1856) of S. Paul's School at Concord, New Hampshire. This has come, under the administration from the beginning of its model head-master, the Rev. Henry A. Coit, D.D., to be recognised as the foremost ecclesiastical institution of its kind in the land.

The name of Phillips Brooks (1835-1893) had been for many years widely known in both continents. His reputation as a preacher has rarely been equalled by any American divine, and his manly attributes made him devoted friends everywhere. When he was chosen, in 1891, Bishop of Massachusetts, there was (not for the first time, however) a very earnest controversy as to the orthodoxy of some of his theological views. His election was barely confirmed by the Bishops. While many persons could not overcome their repugnance to what they deemed his gross errors in doctrine, none could fail to appreciate the modesty and spiritual fervour that characterised his life and work, both as priest and bishop. His death, in less than two years after his consecration, was a shock to those who had gazed with admiration upon his splendid physique, which seemed to give a power of its own to his remarkable eloquence.

CHAPTER XX

ADDITIONAL HISTORY OF TRINITY CHURCH, NEW YORK

Succession of rectors—Number of churches and chapels—Amounts given by the Corporation—Attacks upon the parish—Legacies to the parish—Leake and Watts Orphan Asylum.

TRINITY CHURCH, New York, has been for many years the foremost parish in America, and as such, deserves some fuller account of its history.¹ Upon the death of its first rector, the Rev. William Vesey,² the vestry chose as his successor the Rev. Henry Barclay. He was a missionary of the S.P.G. at Albany and its vicinity, who had devoted himself with especial zeal to evangelistic work among the Mohawk Indians. His death occurred in August 1764, and almost immediately the vacancy thus created was filled by the election of the Rev. Samuel Auchmuty, D.D., who, in turn, was succeeded by the Rev. Charles Inglis, D.D.³ The next rector (1784–1800) was the Rev. Samuel Provost, D.D.⁴ He was followed (1800–1816) first by the Rev. Benjamin Moore, D.D.,⁵ and then (1816–1830) by the Rev. John H. Hobart, D.D.⁶

¹ See p. 34.

² See p. 103 *sqq.*

³ See p. 198 *sqq.*

⁴ See p. 36.

⁵ See p. 208 *sqq.*

⁶ See p. 230 *sqq.*

The Rev. William Berrian, D.D., was the incumbent from 1830 until 1862, since which time the parish has been singularly fortunate in having as its head the Rev. Morgan Dix, D.D.

Three church-buildings have occupied the present site, the one now standing having been completed in 1846. It was built from plans by Richard Upjohn, who may be styled the father of American Church-architecture. Many other chapels and churches, both in the city of New York and elsewhere, have been erected wholly or in part by means furnished by this parish. At the present time, there are directly connected with it six thoroughly-equipped chapels, in addition to which several parishes (chiefly among the poorer people) are annually receiving from it substantial aid. Not a few educational institutions and other ecclesiastical enterprises are among its beneficiaries. The Rev. Dr. Berrian calculated¹ that up to 1847 the gifts thus made amounted to more than \$2,000,000. Since then an equally generous policy has been pursued, although the actual income of the corporation is much less than is generally supposed.²

The cupidity of self-styled heirs, and the common disposition to divert to secular purposes the sacred heritages of the Church, have led for many years to continuous attacks, under various guises, upon the tenure of its property. Even among Churchmen,

¹ "History of Trinity Church," p. 386.

² In 1786 the vestry offered an eligible lot of ground to each one of the Presbyterian congregations in New York, for the use of their senior ministers.

attempts have been made from time to time to have its funds distributed in proportion among the other city parishes, and to confer the right of voting at its vestry elections upon all members of the Church, whether worshippers at Trinity Church or not.

A public conscience, aided by able advocates, has thus far protected the parish from any serious harm, while the faithful and efficient way in which its work has been uniformly done surrounds it at all times with numerous friends.

A great many legacies have been left to the parish for various purposes. Among others, there was one in 1793, by Mr. John Leake, of £1000, the income of which was to be spent in a weekly distribution of bread to the poor. This dole is still regularly given away at S. John's Chapel. This same Mr. Leake left the bulk of his property to a young man by the name of Robert Watts, who died soon after receiving the bequest. His father, Mr. John Watts, very handsomely turned over the whole amount left by Mr. Leake to the founding of an institution, known now as the Leake and Watts Orphan Asylum, where a large number of boys find a most comfortable home.

CHAPTER XXI

SOME MINOR DETAILS OF CHURCH LIFE

First mention of Free Churches—The Rev. Robert Piggott—The Rev. Drs. Boyd and Muhlenberg—Legislative discussion of the subject—The present proportion of such churches—Parish Clerks—Lay-Readers—General Washington—The Brotherhood of S. Andrew—Modern origin of church chimneys—Cathedrals in America—Introduction of painted glass—The first pastoral staff—The black gown—The Girls' Friendly Society—Church Congress—Church Clubs—The Daughters of the King—The Provincial System—The Rev. Dr. Hopkins.

THE movement for Free Churches originated in the desire to make some better provision for bringing the poor into closer contact with the Church. At first, these churches were designed almost exclusively for this class of worshippers. Hitherto, the only provision for them had been in certain seats or pews rather offensively—at least, not attractively—labelled. It is not known to which parish can be given the honour of declaring, in a formal way, all its seats equally free and unappropriated. Probably, it belongs to S. Mark's Church, Lewistown, Pennsylvania, of which the Rev. Robert Piggott was rector. This parish was organised in July 1823, since which time it has always been supported by voluntary contributions. Mr. Piggott early in 1833 became rector of what was first known as All Souls' Church, but was afterwards styled Ascension

Church, Philadelphia. At the laying of the corner-stone in 1834, Bishop Doane preached a sermon in which he strongly advocated the Free Church System, which the new congregation had espoused. S. Mary's Church, Manhattanville, New York (the Rev. William Richmond,¹ rector), was originally intended to be conducted under the same system, and has been so conducted ever since 1832. One of its earliest and most devoted advocates was the Rev. George Boyd, D.D., of Philadelphia, who in 1839 finally persuaded his parish (S. John's, Northern Liberties) to adopt it, although in doing so nearly all the wealthier people left him, and he was obliged to subsist for a while on a bare pittance. For many years, in his reports to the Diocesan Convention, he preached a sort of sermon on the subject.

The Rev. Dr. Muhlenberg² was also a staunch friend of the movement, and did much to recommend it to the richer members of the Church. An epigrammatic rhyme of his on the subject may be quoted here :—

“ If the Saviour drove out of the temple of old
 Poor ignorant Jews, who bought there and sold,
 What would He to Christians, so given to pelf
 As traffic to make of the temple itself?
 Woe, woe to the Church, ruled by Mammon-made lords,
 When He cometh again with the scourge of His cords.”

¹ Mr. Richmond was succeeded by the Rev. Thomas M. Peters, D.D., who, as rector of S. Mary's, and of S. Michael's, Bloomingdale, and as the leading spirit in many charitable institutions, led a singularly busy and useful life. He died in 1893, and was buried with honours rarely shown to any one.

² See pp. 330-333.

A curious fact in this connection—curious for the United States at that period—is that in 1844 the Legislature of Rhode Island discussed the question as to whether or not a new parish should be incorporated whose proposed charter contained a provision for having rented pews. The act of incorporation was finally passed, but not until there had been a long debate on the relative advantages of free and rented sittings. In New England especially, there existed, for a long while—more in meeting-houses than in churches—a custom that was styled “dignifying the house,” by which from time to time seats were assigned to families or individuals in accordance with their “age, state, and parentage.”

The free system has gone on fighting and winning its way, until it has become so predominant that in some dioceses it is the only one that exists, and in many others it includes by far the greater number of parishes. Taking the country at large, the free churches constitute now not less than seventy-five per cent. of the whole number of parishes.

Mention may be made of an institution which has been unknown during the last thirty or forty years, and seems to have disappeared permanently, that of Parish Clerks. They were at one time quite common, especially in the city churches. Their chief province was to lead in—not infrequently they almost alone said—the responses, and to give out various notices—of services during the week, funerals, and the like. On more than one occasion in Boston, advertisement was thus made of lost swine, with a suitable reward

for their recovery. In the absence of clergymen, they were often called upon to read the service and a homily. These functionaries oftentimes had a lofty idea of their importance, and were very jealous of any interference with their inherited prerogatives. The gradual abolition of their office was thus accompanied with considerable anxiety and difficulty. Before their disappearance, the tariff of fees for the various ministrations of rector, clerk, and sexton had been abandoned.

In the absence of a sufficient number of clergymen, Lay-Readers were early employed in the American Church. We have an account of such services by Christopher Gist, on an exploring expedition in Western Pennsylvania, in the year 1750. Five years later, George Washington, then a colonel, officiated in the same capacity at Fort Necessity. It was he who read the burial-service over the remains of General Braddock. The story of Samuel Gunn's fruitful labours, in the early part of the next century, in Connecticut, New York, and Ohio, has already been told.¹ Many notable instances could be cited of accessions to the Church through this agency, of persons who have proved in every way most valuable members.² Under the inspiration of the Brotherhood of S. Andrew (an organisation which, beginning as a national society in 1886, has now one thousand chapters and a membership of eleven thousand), a larger number than ever

¹ See p. 217. A fuller account of Mr. Gunn may be found in Caswall's "America and the American Church."

² See "Lay-Readers, their History, Organisation, and Work," by the Rev. H. B. Restarick. See also pp. 7, 23, 24, 26.

before of devout laymen are lending their help in all departments of the Church's work.

Partly, no doubt, from the customs of their European homes, the builders of the early churches in America made no provision for heating them. In hardly any one of them was there a chimney or any kind of fire-place. In some localities there were what were called "Sabbath-day houses," very plain structures, which were close to the churches, and were divided into separate compartments for men and women, where they could go for heat, and, during the intervals between the services, for refreshments. But as a general rule, the women only had provision made for their comfort in respect of warmth, and that usually by means of little foot-stoves with hot coals of wood. In some parishes the proposition to erect chimneys, when first made, led to such lively discussions as threatened to dismember the congregations; the older people looking upon it as an evidence of intolerable degeneracy. It was as late as 1825 that stoves were introduced into some churches.

The subject of Cathedrals has been more or less before the American Church for forty years. Bishop Whitehouse¹ (of Illinois) was perhaps the first diocesan to give public expression to what before had been but little better than vague ideas concerning it. He also attempted in his see city to put into operation his well-considered plans. He encountered considerable opposition to the cathedral project, as other bishops did subsequently. The Cathedral of SS. Peter

¹ See p. 260.

and Paul, Chicago, may be considered the pioneer in this direction. It was established, practically in the year 1861, although the cathedral organisation was not effected until several years later.

After Chicago, came Milwaukee, Faribault, and Omaha, followed by Portland, Albany, and others. In a number of instances, the organisations were merely tentative; in some, scarcely more than nominal—the buildings styled cathedrals being little else than parish churches.

In all, there are at this time thirty-six dioceses having cathedral organisations, more or less complete. At Albany there is a building not as yet finished, but which promises, under Bishop Doane's guidance, to fulfil the true idea of such a structure. At New York, foundations have been laid for a still more imposing edifice. The plans both for the cathedral itself, and for the work in connection with it as formulated by the sagacious bishop of the diocese (the Right Rev. Dr. Henry C. Potter), are large and comprehensive.

It was in 1827 that painted glass was first introduced in an American church, S. Paul's, Troy, New York. It was for some time looked upon as a dangerous innovation.

The first pastoral staff given to any bishop by his clergy, was presented in 1866 to the Right Rev. Dr. Hopkins, Bishop of Vermont, on the occasion of his golden wedding. Mr. Beresford Hope had earlier made a personal gift of one to the Right Rev. Dr. Doane, Bishop of New Jersey. In later years their use has become quite common.

The wearing of the black gown in preaching became an almost universal custom in parishes of all grades of Churchmanship. In some parishes it was worn even in the reading of the service on Good Friday, that the one surplice belonging to them might, in the meanwhile, be made and kept clean for Easter Day. Not infrequently, the black gown was the only vestment provided. At the present time there are but few dioceses where the black gown is at all in use. Linen bands and black silk gloves had disappeared long before the gown.

The Girls' Friendly Society has taken root firmly in America, and promises to keep pace proportionately with the growth of the parent organisation in England. There are now about two hundred and twenty branches, distributed among twenty dioceses.

The Church Congress, which has apparently become one of the institutions of the Church, although in no way formally recognised by her, was organised in the year 1874, the first meeting being held in New York. In the Rev. Dr. Dyer's interesting "Records of an Active Life," an account is given of its origin.

Parish Houses, or Parish Buildings, are being rapidly multiplied throughout the land; to such an extent, indeed, that without them parishes are hardly thought to be thoroughly equipped for their various industries. They furnish accommodations, the lack of which would prevent the Church from doing all that she now feels called upon to undertake for the entire man, religiously, physically, mentally, and socially.

Among other agencies that have of recent years come into existence, a prominent place may be assigned to what are known as Church Clubs. These consist generally of laymen only, and are intended to develop and inform their zeal and activity—partly, but not exclusively, by means of social intercourse. The Club organised in Boston dates from January, 1888. Those of New York and Delaware were formed in the same year. There are now about twenty in all.

The organisation of the Daughters of the King (1885) is designed to accomplish among the young women the same work that is undertaken among young men by the Brotherhood of S. Andrew.

It has been felt for a number of years that the growth of the Church demanded the adoption of what is known as the Provincial System, and some steps have been taken in that direction. The three dioceses in the State of Illinois have been constituted by their own action into a province, and the five dioceses in the State of New York have organised a federate council, with similar purposes in view. The most prominent and persistent advocate of the system was the Rev. Dr. John H. Hopkins, junr. (1820–1891), who was also the chief advocate of the division of dioceses. In other lines of Church life he left his distinct impression, being a man of unusual talents and industry.

CHAPTER XXII

RECENT GROWTH AND PROSPECTS

Comparison of statistics—The Church gaining largely upon the population—Future prospects.

IN bringing to a close this History of the American Church, it may be well to contrast some of its statistics as reported in 1832—the first year any such summaries are appended to the General Convention Journals—and in 1892.

1832.

Clergy reported in 18 dioceses		592
Baptisms <i>for three years</i>		23,127
Communicants in 16 dioceses		30,939
Sunday-school teachers in 10 dioceses		1,743
Sunday-school pupils in 14 dioceses		24,218

1892.

Clergy in 64 dioceses and American missionary jurisdictions		4,150
Baptisms <i>for three years</i> in 63 dioceses and American missionary jurisdictions		180,527
Communicants in 62 dioceses and American missionary jurisdictions		561,702
Sunday-school teachers in 62 dioceses and American missionary jurisdictions		42,828
Sunday-school pupils in 63 dioceses and American missionary jurisdictions		394,464
Total offerings in three years for religious purposes		\$4,051,360,720

During the forty-eight years preceding 1832, twenty-nine bishops were consecrated, of whom sixteen were then living.

During the sixty-two years preceding 1894, one hundred and forty-five bishops were consecrated, of whom eighty-three were then living.

The remarkable growth of the Church will be the more readily seen when the increase in the number of her communicants is compared with the increase of the population of the United States.

In 1844 the number of communicants was about 60,000. The population of the United States was about 18,000,000.

In 1894 the number of communicants was about 600,000.¹ The population of the United States was about 65,000,000.

In 1844 the ratio of the communicants to the whole population was as 1 is to 300.

In 1894 the same ratio was as 1 is to 108.

In fifty years, the population of the United States increased 260 per cent.; while the number of communicants increased 900 per cent.

Should the present rate of gain upon the population be accelerated during the next few years as it has been during the latter half of the present century, it will not be very long ere the Church whose history is the subject of this volume will be everywhere recognised as indeed THE AMERICAN CHURCH.

She is attracting to herself, as no other religious body is doing, many members of all the various

¹ This is equivalent to a *membership* of about 3,000,000.

denominations represented in the country, and is becoming more and more, in the providence of God, the recognised centre of American Christianity. Standing midway between those, on the one side, who would take from, and those, on the other side, who would add to Catholic faith and practice, she has a mission to fulfil which will tax to the utmost her resources and energies. It is a privilege for which her members should be humbly thankful, and a responsibility which they should discharge with all fidelity. Her past history, by the grace of God, has been honourable. Her prospects warrant the belief that, by the same grace, her future history will exceed in glory.

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THE AMERICAN EPISCOPATE—SUCCESSION OF BISHOPS

No.	NAME.	SEE.	CONSECRATED.	DIED.
1	Samuel Seabury	Connecticut	Nov. 14, 1784	Feb. 25, 1796
2	William White	Pennsylvania	Feb. 4, 1787	July 17, 1836
3	Samuel Provoost	New York	Feb. 4, 1787	Sept. 6, 1815
4	James Madison	Virginia	Sept. 19, 1790	Mar. 5, 1812
5	Thomas John Claggett	Maryland	Sept. 17, 1792	Aug. 2, 1816
6	Robert Smith	South Carolina	Sept. 14, 1795	Oct. 28, 1801
7	Edward Bass	Massachusetts (2nd, Rhode Island)	May 7, 1797	Sept. 10, 1803
8	Abraham Jarvis	Connecticut	Sept. 18, 1797	May 13, 1813
9	Benjamin Moore	New York (Coadj.). Bp., 1816	Sept. 11, 1801	Feb. 27, 1810
10	Samuel Parker	Massachusetts	Sept. 14, 1804	Dec. 6, 1804
11	John Henry Hobart	New York (Coadj.). Bp., 1816	May 29, 1811	Sept. 10, 1830
12	Alexander Viets Griswold	Eastern Diocese	May 29, 1811	Feb. 15, 1843
13	Theodore Dehon	South Carolina	Oct. 15, 1812	Aug. 6, 1817
14	Richard Channing Moore	Virginia	May 18, 1814	Nov. 11, 1841
15	James Kemp	Maryland (Suff.). Bp., 1816	Sept. 1, 1814	Oct. 28, 1827
16	John Croes	New Jersey	Nov. 19, 1815	July 26, 1832
17	Nathaniel Bowen	South Carolina	Oct. 18, 1818	Aug. 25, 1839
18	Philander Chase	Ohio (1st). Illinois, 1835	Feb. 11, 1819	Sept. 20, 1852
19	Thomas Church Brownell	Connecticut (3rd)	Oct. 27, 1819	Jan. 13, 1865
20	John Stark Ravenscroft	North Carolina (1st)	May 22, 1823	Mar. 5, 1830
21	Henry Ustick Onderdonk	Pennsylvania (Asst.). 2nd Bp., 1836	Oct. 25, 1827	Dec. 6, 1858
22	William Meade	Virginia (Asst.). 3rd Bp., 1841	Aug. 19, 1829	Mar. 14, 1862
23	William Murray Stone	Maryland (3rd)	Oct. 21, 1830	Feb. 26, 1838
24	Benjamin Tredwell Onderdonk	New York (4th). Suspended, 1845, and never restored	Nov. 26, 1830	April 30, 1861

25	Levi Silliman Ives	North Carolina (2nd).	Deposed, 1853	Sept. 22, 1831	Oct. 13, 1867
26	John Henry Hopkins	Vermont (1st)		Oct. 31, 1832	Jan. 9, 1868
27	Benjamin Bosworth Smith	Kentucky (1st)		Oct. 31, 1832	May 31, 1884
28	Charles Pettit M'Irvine	Ohio (2nd)		Oct. 31, 1832	Mar. 13, 1873
29	George Washington Doane	New Jersey (2nd)		Oct. 31, 1832	April 27, 1859
30	James Hervey Otey	Tennessee (1st)		Jan. 14, 1834	April 23, 1863
31	Jackson Kemper	Missouri and Indiana (Miss.).	1st, Wis., 1854	Sept. 25, 1835	May 24, 1870
32	Samuel Allen M'Coskry	Michigan (1st).	Deposed 1878.	July 7, 1836	Aug. 1, 1886
33	Leonidas Polk	Arkansas (1st Miss.).	1st Louisiana, 1841	Dec. 9, 1838	June 14, 1864
34	William Heathcote De Lancey	Western New York (1st)		May 9, 1839	April 5, 1865
35	Christopher Edwards Gadsden	South Carolina (4th)		June 21, 1840	June 24, 1852
36	William Rollinson Whittingham	Maryland (4th)		Sept. 17, 1840	Oct. 17, 1879
37	Stephen Elliott	Georgia (1st)		Feb. 28, 1841	Dec. 21, 1866
38	Alfred Lee	Delaware (1st).	8th Presiding Bp.	Oct. 12, 1841	April 12, 1887
39	John Johns	Virginia (Asst.).	4th Bp., 1862	Oct. 13, 1842	April 5, 1876
40	Manton Eastburn	Massachusetts (Asst.).	4th Bp., 1843	Dec. 29, 1842	Sept. 12, 1872
41	J. Prentiss Kewley Henshaw	Rhode Island (1st)		Aug. 11, 1843	July 20, 1852
42	Carlton Chase	New Hampshire (1st)		Oct. 20, 1844	Jan. 18, 1870
43	Nicholas Hamner Cobbs	Alabama (1st)		Oct. 20, 1844	Jan. 11, 1861
44	Cicero Stephens Hawks	Missouri (1st)		Oct. 20, 1844	April 19, 1868
45	William Jones Boone	Amoy, China (1st Miss.)		Oct. 26, 1844	July 17, 1864
46	George Washington Freeman	Arkansas and South-West (2nd Miss.)		Oct. 26, 1844	April 29, 1858
47	Horatio Southgate	Constantinople (1st Miss.).	Resigned 1850	Oct. 26, 1844	April 13, 1894
48	Alonzo Potter	Pennsylvania (3rd)		Sept. 23, 1845	July 4, 1865
49	George Burgess	Maine (1st)		Oct. 31, 1847	April 23, 1866
50	George Upfold	Indiana (1st)		Dec. 16, 1849	Aug. 26, 1872
51	William Mercer Green	Mississippi (1st)		Feb. 24, 1850	Feb. 14, 1887

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No.	NAME.	SEE.	CONSECRATED.	DIED.
52	John Payne	Africa (1st Miss.).	July 11, 1851	Oct. 23, 1874
53	Francis Huger Rutledge	Florida (1st)	Oct. 15, 1851	Nov. 6, 1866
54	John Williams	Connecticut (Asst.). 4th Bp., 1865	Oct. 29, 1851	...
55	Henry John Whitehouse	Illinois (Asst.). 2nd Bp., 1852	Nov. 20, 1851	Aug. 10, 1874
56	Jonathan Mayhew Wainwright	New York (Provis.—died as such)	Nov. 10, 1852	Sept. 21, 1854
57	Thomas Frederick Davis	South Carolina (5th)	Oct. 17, 1853	Dec. 2, 1871
58	Thomas Atkinson	North Carolina (3rd)	Oct. 17, 1853	Jan. 4, 1881
59	William Ingraham Kip	California (1st Miss.). Bp. of diocese, 1857	Oct. 28, 1853	April 6, 1893
60	Thomas Fielding Scott	Oregon and Washington Territory (1st Miss.).		
61	Henry Washington Lee	Iowa (1st)	Jan. 8, 1854	July 14, 1867
62	Horatio Potter	New York (Provis.). 5th Bp., 1861	Oct. 18, 1854	Sept. 26, 1874
63	Thomas March Clark	Rhode Island (2nd)	Nov. 22, 1854	Jan. 2, 1887
64	Samuel Bowman	Pennsylvania (Asst.—died as such)	Dec. 6, 1854	...
65	Alexander Gregg	Texas (1st)	Aug. 25, 1858	Aug. 3, 1861
66	William Henry Odenheimer	New Jersey (3rd). Northern New Jersey (1st), 1874	Oct. 13, 1859	July 11, 1893
67	Gregory Thurston Bedell	Ohio (Asst.). 3rd Bp., 1873. Res., 1889	Oct. 13, 1859	Aug. 14, 1879
68	Henry Benjamin Whipple	Minnesota (1st)	Oct. 13, 1859	Mar. 11, 1892
69	Henry Champlin Lay	Arkansas (3rd Miss.). Trans. to Easton (1st), 1869	Oct. 13, 1859	...
70	Joseph Cruikshank Talbot	North-West (1st Miss.). Asst., Indiana, 1865; 2nd Bp., 1872	Oct. 23, 1859	Sept. 17, 1885
71	William Bacon Stevens	Pennsylvania (Asst.). 4th Bp., 1865	Feb. 15, 1860	Jan. 15, 1883
72	Richard Hooker Wilmer	Alabama (2nd).	Jan. 2, 1862	June 11, 1887

* Now, Newark.

RECENT GROWTH AND PROSPECTS

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73	Thomas Hubbard Vail	Kansas (1st)	Dec. 15, 1864	Oct. 6, 1889
74	Arthur Cleveland Cox	Western New York (Asst.). 2nd Bp., 1865	Jan. 4, 1865	...
75	Charles Todd Quintard	Tennessee (2nd)	Oct. 11, 1865	...
76	Robert Harper Clarkson	Nebraska (1st Miss.). Bp. dioc., 1870	Nov. 15, 1865	Mar. 10, 1884
77	George Maxwell Randall	Colorado (1st Miss.)	Dec. 28, 1865	Sept. 28, 1873
78	John Barrett Kerfoot	Pittsburg (1st)	Jan. 25, 1866	July 10, 1881
79	Channing Moore Williams	China and Japan (2nd Miss.). 1st, Yedo, 1874. Resigned, 1889	Oct. 3, 1866	...
80	Joseph Pere Bell Wilmer	Louisiana (2nd)	Nov. 7, 1866	Dec. 2, 1878
81	George David Cummins	Kentucky (Asst.). Deposed, 1874	Nov. 15, 1866	June 26, 1876
82	William Edmond Armitage	Wisconsin (Asst.). 2nd Bp., 1870	Dec. 6, 1866	Dec. 7, 1873
83	Henry Adams Neely	Maine (2nd)	Jan. 25, 1867	...
84	Daniel Sylvester Tuttle	Utah, Idaho, and Montana (1st Miss.). Transl. to Missouri (3rd), 1886	May 1, 1867	...
85	John Freeman Young	Florida (2nd)	July 25, 1867	Nov. 15, 1885
86	John Watrus Beckwith	Georgia (2nd)	April 2, 1868	Nov. 23, 1890
87	Francis M'Neece Whittle	Virginia (Asst.). 5th Bp., 1876	April 30, 1868	...
88	W. H. Augustus Bissell	Vermont (2nd)	June 3, 1868	...
89	Charles Franklin Robertson	Missouri (2nd)	Oct. 25, 1868	May 14, 1893
90	Benjamin Wistar Morris	Oregon (2nd Miss.). Bp. dioc., 1889	Dec. 3, 1868	May 1, 1886
91	Abram Newkirk Littlejohn	Long Island (1st)	Jan. 27, 1869	...
92	William Crowell Doane	Albany (1st)	Feb. 2, 1869	...
93	Frederick Dan Huntington	Central New York (1st)	April 8, 1869	...
94	Ozi William Whittaker	Nevada (1st Miss.). Transl. to Pennsylvania (Asst.), 1886. 5th Bp., 1887	Oct. 13, 1869	...
95	Henry Niles Pierce	Arkansas (4th Miss.). Bp., 1871	Jan. 25, 1870	...
96	William Woodruff Niles	New Hampshire (2nd)	Sept. 21, 1870	...
97	William Pinkney	Maryland (Asst.). 5th Bp., 1879	Oct. 6, 1870	...
98	William Bell White Howe	South Carolina (6th)	Oct. 8, 1871	July 4, 1883

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No.	NAME.	SEE.	CONSECRATED.	DIED.
99	M. A. De Wolfe Howe.	Central Pennsylvania (1st).	Dec. 28, 1871	...
100	William Hobart Hare.	South Dakota (1st Miss.).	Jan. 9, 1873	...
101	John Gottlieb Auer.	Cape Palmas, Africa (2nd Miss.).	April 17, 1873	Feb. 16, 1874
102	Benjamin H. Paddock.	Massachusetts (5th).	Sept. 17, 1873	Mar. 9, 1891
103	Theodore B. Lyman.	North Carolina (Asst.).	Dec. 11, 1873	...
104	John Franklin Spalding.	Colorado (2nd).	Dec. 31, 1873	...
105	Edward Randolph Welles.	Wisconsin (3rd).	Oct. 24, 1874	Oct. 20, 1888
106	R. W. Barnwell Elliott.	Western Texas (1st Miss.).	Nov. 15, 1874	Aug. 22, 1887
107	J. H. Ducachet Wingfield.	Northern California (1st Miss.).	Dec. 2, 1874	...
108	Alexander Charles Garrett.	Northern Texas (1st Miss.).	Dec. 20, 1874	...
109	William Forbes Adams.	New Mexico and Arizona (1st Miss.). Re- signed, 1876.	Jan. 17, 1875	...
110	Thomas Underwood Dudley.	Kentucky (Asst.).	Jan. 27, 1875	...
111	John Scarborough.	New Jersey (4th).	Feb. 2, 1875	...
112	George De Normandie Gillespie.	Western Michigan (1st).	Feb. 24, 1875	...
113	Thomas Augustus Jaggar.	Southern Ohio (1st).	April 28, 1875	...
114	William E. M'Laren.	Chicago (3rd).	Dec. 8, 1875	...
115	John Henry Hobart Brown.	Fond du Lac (1st).	Dec. 15, 1875	May 2, 1888
116	William Stevens Perry.	Iowa (2nd).	Sept. 10, 1876	...
117	Charles Clifton Penick.	Cape Palmas, Africa (3rd Miss.). Re- signed, 1883.	Feb. 13, 1877	...
118	S. Isaac J. Schereschewsky.	Shanghai (3rd Miss.).	Oct. 31, 1877	...
119	Alexander Burgess.	Quincy (1st).	May 15, 1878	...
120	George W. Peterkin.	West Virginia (1st).	May 30, 1878	...
121	George Franklin Seymour.	Springfield (1st).	June 11, 1878	...

122	Samuel Smith Harris	Michigan (2nd)	Sept. 17, 1879	Aug. 21, 1888
123	Thomas Alfred Starkey	Newark (2nd)	Jan. 8, 1880	...
124	John Nicholas Galleher	Louisiana (3rd)	Feb. 5, 1880	...
125	George Kelly Dunlop	New Mexico and Arizona (2nd Miss.)	Nov. 21, 1880	Mar. 12, 1888
126	Leigh Richmond Brewer	Montana (1st Miss.)	Dec. 8, 1880	...
127	John Adams Paddock	Washington Territory (1st Miss.)	Dec. 15, 1880	...
128	Cortlandt Whitehead	Pittsburg (2nd)	Jan. 25, 1882	...
129	Hugh Miller Thompson	Mississippi (Asst.)	Feb. 24, 1883	...
130	David Buel Knickerbacker	Indiana (3rd)	Oct. 14, 1883	...
131	Henry Codman Potter	New York (Asst.)	Oct. 20, 1883	...
132	Alfred Magill Randolph	Virginia (Asst.)	Oct. 21, 1883	...
133	William D. Walker	North Dakota (1st Miss.)	Dec. 20, 1883	...
134	Alfred A. Watson	East Carolina (1st)	April 17, 1884	...
135	William J. Boone	Shanghai (4th Miss.)	Oct. 28, 1884	Oct. 5, 1891
136	Nelson S. Rulison	Central Pennsylvania (Asst.)	Oct. 28, 1884	...
137	William Paret	Maryland (6th)	Jan. 8, 1885	...
138	George Worthington	Nebraska (2nd)	Feb. 24, 1885	...
139	Samuel D. Ferguson	Cape Palmas (4th Miss.)	June 24, 1885	...
140	Edwin Gardner Weed	Florida (3rd)	Aug. 11, 1886	...
141	Mahlon N. Gilbert	Minnesota (Asst.)	Oct. 17, 1886	...
142	Elisha S. Thomas	Kansas (Asst.)	May 4, 1887	...
143	Ethelbert Talbot	Wyoming and Idaho (1st Miss.)	May 27, 1887	...
144	James Steptoe Johnston	Western Texas (2nd Miss.)	Jan. 6, 1888	...
145	Abiel Leonard	Nevada and Utah (2nd Miss.)	Jan. 25, 1888	...
146	Leighton Coleman	Delaware (2nd)	Oct. 18, 1888	...
147	John Mills Kendrick	New Mexico and Arizona (3rd Miss.)	Jan. 18, 1889	...
148	Boyd Vincent	Southern Ohio (Asst.)	Jan. 25, 1889	...
149	Cyrus Frederic Knight	Milwaukee (4th)	Mar. 26, 1889	June 8, 1891
150	Charles Chapman Grafton	Fond du Lac (2nd)	April 25, 1889	...

THE AMERICAN EPISCOPATE—SUCCESSION OF BISHOPS (*continued*)

No.	NAME.	SEE.	CONSECRATED.	DIED.
151	William Andrew Leonard . . .	Ohio (4th) . . .	Oct. 12, 1889	...
152	Thomas Frederick Davies . . .	Michigan (3rd) . . .	Oct. 18, 1889	...
153	Anson Rogers Graves . . .	The Platte (1st Miss.) . . .	Jan. 1, 1890	...
154	William Ford Nichols . . .	California (Asst.) . . .	June 24, 1890	...
155	Edward Robert Atwill . . .	West Missouri (1st) . . .	Oct. 14, 1890	...
156	Henry Melville Jackson . . .	Alabama (Asst.) . . .	Jan. 21, 1891	...
157	Davis Sessums . . .	Louisiana (Asst.) . . . 4th Bp., Dec. 1891	June 24, 1891	...
158	Phillips Brooks . . .	Massachusetts (oth) . . .	Oct. 14, 1891	Jan. 23, 1893
159	Isaac Lea Nicholson . . .	Milwaukee (5th) . . .	Oct. 28, 1891	...
160	Cleland Kinloch Nelson . . .	Georgia (3rd) . . .	Feb. 24, 1892	...
161	Charles Reuben Hale . . .	Springfield (Asst.) . . .	July 21, 1892	...
162	George Herbert Kinsolving . . .	Texas (Asst.) . . .	Oct. 12, 1892	...
163	Lemuel Henry Wells . . .	Spokane (1st Miss.) . . .	Dec. 16, 1892	...
164	William Crane Gray . . .	Southern Florida (1st Miss.) . . .	Dec. 29, 1892	...
165	Francis Key Brooke . . .	Oklahoma (1st Miss.) . . .	Jan. 6, 1893	...
166	William Morris Barker . . .	Western Colorado (1st Miss.) . . .	Jan. 25, 1893	...
167	John M'Kim . . .	Yedo (2nd Miss.) . . .	June 14, 1893	...
168	Frederick Rogers Graves . . .	Shanghai (5th Miss.) . . .	June 14, 1893	...
169	Ellison Capers . . .	South Carolina (Asst.) . . .	July 20, 1893	...
170	Thomas Frank Gallor . . .	Tennessee (Asst.) . . .	July 25, 1893	...
171	William Lawrence . . .	Massachusetts (7th) . . .	Oct. 5, 1893	...
172	Joseph Blount Cheshire . . .	North Carolina (Asst.) . . .	Oct. 15, 1893	...
173	Arthur C. A. Hall . . .	Vermont (3rd) . . .	Feb. 2, 1894	...
174	John B. Newton . . .	Virginia (Asst.) . . .	May 16, 1894	...

PRESIDING BISHOPS OF THE AMERICAN CHURCH

No.	NAME.	SEE.	TERM OF SERVICE.
1	William White	Pennsylvania	1789
2	Samuel Seabury	Connecticut	1789-1792
3	Samuel Provoost. . . .	New York	1792-1795
4	William White*. . . .	Pennsylvania	1795-1836
5	Alexander Viets Griswold	The Eastern Diocese	1836-1843
6	Philander Chase. . . .	Ohio	1843-1852
7	Thomas Church Brownell	Connecticut	1852-1865
8	John Henry Hopkins . .	Vermont	1865-1868
9	Benjamin Bosworth Smith	Kentucky	1868-1884
10	Alfred Lee. . . .	Delaware	1884-1887
11	John Williams	Connecticut	1887-

GENERAL CONVENTIONS

PLACE OF MEETING.	DATE.	PLACE OF MEETING.	DATE.
Philadelphia	1785	New York	1832
Philadelphia	1786	Philadelphia	1835
Wilmington, Delaware (Ad- journed Convention). .	1786	Philadelphia	1838
Philadelphia	1789	New York	1841
Philadelphia (Adjourned Convention)	1789	Philadelphia	1844
New York	1792	New York	1847
Philadelphia	1795	Cincinnati	1850
Philadelphia (Special) . .	1799	New York	1853
Trenton, New Jersey . .	1801	Philadelphia	1856
New York	1804	Richmond, Virginia. . .	1859
Baltimore	1808	New York	1862
New Haven, Connecticut .	1811	Philadelphia	1865
Philadelphia	1814	New York	1868
New York	1817	Baltimore	1871
Philadelphia	1820	New York	1874
Philadelphia (Special) . .	1821	Boston	1877
Philadelphia	1823	New York	1880
Philadelphia	1826	Philadelphia	1883
Philadelphia	1829	Chicago.	1886
		New York	1889
		Baltimore	1892

Minneapolis, Minnesota, is appointed as the place of meeting of the General Convention of 1895.

* See p. 185.

APPENDIX

A.

LETTERS OF THE REV. DR. FOGG (*see page 118*)

I.

POMFRET, *July 14, 1783.*

DEAR SIR,—I wrote you a few lines the 2nd inst. by an uncertain conveyance, in which I mentioned that the Connecticut clergy had done all in their power respecting the matter you were anxious about; but they keep it a profound secret, even from their most intimate friends of the laity.

The matter is this: After consulting the clergy in New York how to keep up the succession, they unanimously agreed to send a person to England to be consecrated Bishop for America, and pitched upon Dr. Seabury as the most proper person for this purpose, who sailed for England the beginning of last month, highly recommended by all the clergy in New York and Connecticut, &c. If he succeeds, he is to come out as missionary for New London or some other vacant mission; and if they will not receive him in Connecticut or any other of the *States of America*, he is to go to Nova Scotia. Sir Guy highly approves of the plan, and has used all his influence in favour of it.

The clergy have even gone so far as to instruct Dr. Seabury, if none of the regular Bishops of the Church of

England will ordain him, to go down to Scotland and receive ordination from a non-juring bishop. Please to let me know by Mr. Grosvenor how you approve of the plan, and whether you have received any late accounts from England.—From your affectionate brother,

D. FOGG.

II.

DEAR SIR,—I am very glad that the conduct of the Connecticut clergy meets with your approbation in the main. Dr. Seabury's being a refugee was an objection which I made; but was answered, that they could not fix upon any other person who they thought was so likely to succeed as he was; and should he succeed, and not be permitted to reside in any of the United States, it would be an easy matter for any other gentleman who was not obnoxious to the *powers that be*, to be consecrated by him at Halifax. And as to the objection of not consulting the clergy of other States, the time would not allow of it, and there was nobody to consult in the State of New York, for there is not one clergyman there except refugees, and they were consulted. And in the State of Connecticut there are fourteen clergymen. And in your State and New Hampshire, you know how many there are, and you know there is no compulsion in the matter, and you will be left to act as you please, either to be subject to him or not. As to the matter of his support, that must be an after consideration.—Your affectionate friend and brother,

D. FOGG.

POMFRET, *August 1, 1783.*

B.

LETTERS OF DR. SEABURY TO THE CONNECTICUT
CLERGY (*see page 120*)

I.

LONDON, *July 15, 1783.*

GENTLEMEN,—In prosecution of the business committed to me by you, I arrived in this city on the 7th inst. Unfortunately the Archbishop of York had left this city a fortnight before, so that I was deprived of his advice and patronage. I waited on the Bishop of London, and met with a cordial reception from him. He heartily approved of the scheme, and wished success to it, and declared his readiness to concur with the two Archbishops in carrying it into execution; but I soon found he was not disposed to take the lead in the matter. He mentioned the State Oaths in the Ordination Offices, as impediments, but supposed that the King's dispensation would be a sufficient warrant for the Archbishops to proceed upon. But upon conversing with his Grace of Canterbury, I found his opinion rather different from the Bishop of London. He received me politely, approved of the measure, saw the necessity of it, and would do all he could to carry it into execution. But he must proceed openly and with candour. His Majesty's dispensation, he feared, would not be sufficient to justify the omission of Oaths imposed by Act of Parliament. He would consult the other Bishops; he would advise with those persons on whose judgment he thought he could depend. He was glad to hear the opinion of the Bishop of London, and wished to know the sentiments of the Archbishop of York. He foresaw great difficulties, but hoped there were none of them insurmountable. I purpose to set out for York in a few

days to consult the Archbishop, and will do everything in my power to carry this matter into a happy issue; but it will require a great deal of time, and patience, and attention. I endeavoured to remove those difficulties that the Archbishop of Canterbury mentioned; and I am not without hopes that they will all be got over. My greatest fear arises from the matter becoming public, as it now must, and that the Dissenters here will prevail upon your Government to apply against it: this I think would effectually crush it, at least as far as it relates to Connecticut. You will therefore do well to attend to this circumstance yourselves, and get such of your friends as you can trust, to find out, should any such intelligence come from hence. In that case, I think it would be best to avow your design, and try what strength you can muster in the Assembly to support it. But in this matter your own judgment will be a much better guide to you than any opinion of mine.

I will again write to you on my return from York, and shall then be able to tell you more precisely what is like to be the success of this business.

I am, reverend gentlemen, with the greatest respect and esteem, your most obliged humble servant,

SAMUEL SEABURY.

II.

LONDON, *August 10, 1783.*

REVEREND GENTLEMEN,—In the letter which I wrote to you after my interview with the Archbishop of Canterbury, I informed you of the objections made, and difficulties mentioned by him, with regard to the business on which I came to England. I also informed you of my intention to take a journey to York that I might have the full benefit of his Grace of York's advice and influence. This journey I have accomplished, and I fear to very little

purpose. His Grace is now carrying on a correspondence with the Archbishop of Canterbury, on the subject ; what the issue will be is not certain ; but I think, unless matters can be put on a different footing, the business will not succeed. Both the Archbishops are convinced of the necessity of supplying the States of America with bishops, if it be intended to preserve the Episcopal Church there ; and they even seem sensible of the justice of the present application ; but they are exceedingly embarrassed by the following difficulties :—

1. That it would be sending a bishop to Connecticut, which they have no right to do without the consent of the State.
2. That the bishop would not be received in Connecticut.
3. That there would be no adequate support for him.
4. That the Oaths in the Ordination Office cannot be got over, because the King's dispensation would not be sufficient to justify the omission of those Oaths. At least there must be the concurrence of the King's Council to the omission ; and that the Council would not give their concurrence without the permission of the State of Connecticut to the bishop's residing among them.

All that I could say had no effect, and I had a fair opportunity of saying all that I wished to say.

It now remains to be considered what method shall be taken to obtain the wished-for Episcopate.

The matter here will become public. It will soon get to Connecticut. Had you not, gentlemen, better make an immediate application to the State for permission to have a bishop reside there? Should you not succeed, you lose nothing, as I am pretty confident you will not succeed here without such consent. Should there be anything personal with regard to me, let it not retard the matter. I will most readily give up my pretensions to any person who shall be agreeable to you, and less exceptionable to the State.

You can make the attempt with all the strength you can

muster among the laity ; and at the same time I would advise that some persons be sent to try the State of Vermont upon this subject. In the meantime I will try to prepare and get things in a proper train here. I think I shall be able to get at the Duke of Portland and Lord North, on the occasion. And should you succeed in either instance, I think all difficulty would be at an end.

I am, worthy gentlemen, with the greatest respect and esteem, your much obliged and very humble brother and servant,

SAMUEL SEABURY.

III.

To the Rev. Dr. Leaming.

91 WARDOUR STREET, LONDON,
September 3, 1783.

MY DEAR SIR,—Though I have so lately written to you, as well as to the clergy of Connecticut, explaining the situation of the business on which I came to England ; yet I must more fully open my mind to you ; and you are to be the judge, whether any and how much of this letter is to be showed to any one else.

With regard to my success, I not only think it doubtful, but that the probability is against it. Nobody here will risk anything for the sake of the Church, or for the sake of continuing Episcopal Ordination in America. Unless, therefore, it can be made a ministerial affair, none of the Bishops will proceed in it for fear of clamour ; and indeed the ground on which they at present stand, seems to me so uncertain that I believe they are obliged to take great care with regard to any step they take out of the common road. They are apprehensive that my consecration would be looked upon in the light of *sending* a bishop to Connecticut, and

that the State of Connecticut would resist it, and that they should be censured as meddlers in matters that do not concern them. This is the great reason why I wish that the State of Connecticut should be applied to for their consent. Without it, I think nothing will be done. If they refuse, the whole matter is at an end. If they consent that a bishop should reside among them, the grand obstacle will be removed. You see the necessity of making the attempt, and of making it with vigour. One reason, indeed, why I wished the attempt to be made in Connecticut, relates to myself. I cannot continue here long; necessity will oblige me to leave it in March or April, at furthest. If this business fails, I must try to get some provision made for myself. And indeed the State of Connecticut may consent that a bishop should reside among them, though they might not consent that I should be the man. In that case, the sooner I shall know it the better; and should that be the case, I beg that no clergyman in Connecticut will hesitate a moment on my account. The point is, to get the Episcopal authority into that country; and he shall have every assistance in my power.

Something should also be said about the means of support for a bishop in that country. The Bishops here are apprehensive that the character will sink into contempt, unless there be some competent and permanent fund for its support. Please let your opinion of what ought to be said on that subject be communicated by the first opportunity, that is, provided you think anything can be done in Connecticut.

Dr. Chandler's appointment to Nova Scotia will, I believe, succeed; and possibly he may go thither this autumn, or, at least, early in the spring. But his success will do no good in the States of America. His hands will be as much tied as the Bishops in England; and I think he will run no risks to communicate the Episcopal powers. There is, therefore, everything depending on the success of

the application to the State of Connecticut. It must be made quickly, lest the Dissenters here should interpose and prevent it ; and it should be made with the united efforts of clergy and laity, that its weight may be the greater ; and its issue you must make me acquainted with as soon as you can. Please to send me one or two more testimonials from the copy which Dr. Inglis has. Mr. Moore and Mr. Odell will assist in copying and getting them signed ; and I may want them.

By Captain Cowper I expect to be able to acquaint you with the result of the interview of the two Archbishops in my business. In the meantime, may God direct and prosper all the endeavours of His faithful servant, to the establishment of His true religion in the western world ! May I see thee again in peace ! May I again enjoy the pleasure of thy converse, and with thee be instrumental in promoting the welfare of Christ's kingdom.

Adieu ! says thy ever affectionate, S. SEABURY.

Let application be made also to the State of Vermont, lest that to Connecticut should fail.

C.

THE SEABURY CONCORDATE (*see page 124*)

In the name of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, one God, Blessed for ever. Amen.

The wise and gracious providence of this merciful God having put it into the hearts of the Christians of the Episcopal persuasion in Connecticut, in North America, to desire that the blessings of a free, valid, and purely ecclesiastical Episcopacy might be communicated to them, and a Church regularly formed in that part of the western world upon the most ancient and primitive model; and application having been made for this purpose, by the Reverend Dr. Samuel Seabury, Presbyter in Connecticut, to the Right Reverend the Bishops of the Church in Scotland; the said Bishops, having taken this proposal into their serious consideration, most heartily concurred to promote and encourage the same, as far as lay in their power; and accordingly began the pious and good work recommended to them, by complying with the request of the clergy in Connecticut, and advancing the said Dr. Samuel Seabury to the high order of the Episcopate; at the same time earnestly praying that this work of the Lord, thus happily begun, might prosper in his hands, till it should please the great and glorious Head of the Church to increase the number of Bishops in America, and send forth more such labourers into that part of His harvest. Animated with this pious hope, and earnestly desirous to establish a bond of peace, and holy Communion, between the two Churches, the Bishops of the Church in Scotland, whose names are underwritten, having had full and free conference with Bishop Seabury, after his consecration and

advancement as aforesaid, agreed with him on the following Articles, which are to serve as a Concordate, or bond of union, between the Catholic remainder of the ancient Church of Scotland, and the now rising Church in the State of Connecticut.

ARTICLE I. They agree in thankfully receiving and humbly and heartily embracing the whole doctrine of the Gospel, as revealed and set forth in the holy Scriptures ; and it is their earnest and united desire to maintain the analogy of the common faith once delivered to the saints, and happily preserved in the Church of Christ, through His divine power and protection, who promised that the gates of hell should never prevail against it.

ARTICLE II. They agree in believing this Church to be the mystical Body of Christ, of which He alone is the Head and supreme Governor, and that under Him the chief ministers or managers of the affairs of this spiritual society are those called Bishops, whose exercise of their sacred office being independent of all lay powers, it follows, of consequence, that their spiritual authority and jurisdiction cannot be affected by any lay-deprivation.

ARTICLE III. They agree in declaring that the Episcopal Church in Connecticut is to be in full communion with the Episcopal Church in Scotland ; it being their sincere resolution to put matters on such a footing as that the members of both Churches may with safety and freedom communicate with either, when their occasions call them from the one country to the other ; only taking care when in Scotland not to hold communion in sacred offices with those persons who, under pretence of Ordination by an English or Irish bishop, do, or shall take upon them to officiate as clergymen in any part of the National Church of Scotland, and whom the Scottish Bishops cannot help looking upon as schismatical intruders, designed only to answer worldly purposes, and uncommissioned disturbers

of the poor remains of that once flourishing Church, which both their predecessors and they have, under many difficulties, laboured to preserve pure and uncorrupted to future ages.

ARTICLE IV. With a view to the salutary purpose mentioned in the preceding Articles, they agree in desiring that there may be as near a conformity in worship and discipline established between the two Churches as is consistent with the different circumstances and customs of nations; and in order to avoid any bad effects that might otherwise arise from political differences, they hereby express their earnest wish and firm intention to observe such prudent generality in their public prayers, with respect to these points, as shall appear most agreeable to apostolic rules and the practice of the primitive Church.

ARTICLE V. As the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, or the administration of the sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, is the principal bond of union among Christians, as well as the most solemn act of worship in the Christian Church, the Bishops aforesaid agree in desiring that there may be as little variance here as possible. And though the Scottish Bishops are very far from prescribing to their brethren in this matter, they cannot help ardently wishing that Bishop Seabury would endeavour all he can, consistently with peace and prudence, to make the celebration of this venerable mystery conformable to the most primitive doctrine and practice in that respect, which is the pattern the Church of Scotland has copied after in her Communion Office, and which it has been the wish of some of the most eminent divines of the Church of England that she also had more closely followed than she seems to have done since she gave up her first reformed liturgy used in the reign of King Edward VI., between which and the form used in the Church of

Scotland there is no difference in any point which the primitive Church reckoned essential to the right ministration of the Holy Eucharist. In this capital article therefore of the Eucharistic service, in which the Scottish Bishops so earnestly wish for as much unity as possible, Bishop Seabury also agrees to take a serious view of the Communion Office recommended by them, and if found agreeable to the genuine standards of antiquity, to give his sanction to it, and by gentle methods of argument and persuasion, to endeavour, as they have done, to introduce it by degrees into practice, without the compulsion of authority on the one side, or the prejudice of former custom on the other.

ARTICLE VI. It is also hereby agreed and resolved upon, for the better answering the purposes of this Concordate, that a brotherly fellowship be henceforth maintained between the Episcopal Churches in Scotland and Connecticut, and such a mutual intercourse of ecclesiastical correspondence carried on, when opportunity offers or necessity requires, as may tend to the support and edification of both Churches.

ARTICLE VII. The Bishops aforesaid do hereby jointly declare, in the most solemn manner, that in the whole of this transaction they have nothing else in view but the glory of God and the good of His Church; and being thus pure and upright in their intentions, they cannot but hope that all whom it may concern will put the most fair and candid construction on their conduct, and take no offence at their feeble but sincere endeavours to promote what they believe to be the cause of truth and of the common salvation.

In testimony of their love, to which, and in mutual good faith and confidence, they have for themselves and their successors in office cheerfully put their names and seals to these presents at Aberdeen, this fifteenth day

of November, in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-four.

ROBERT KILGOUR, *Bishop and Primus*. [L. S.]
ARTHUR PETRIE, *Bishop*. [L. S.]
JOHN SKINNER, JUNR., *Bishop*. [L. S.]
SAMUEL SEABURY, *Bishop*. [L. S.]

D.

INSTRUCTIONS TO BISHOP SOUTHGATE

*(See page 276)**To the Venerable and Right Rev. Father in God the Patriarch of the Greek Church, resident at Constantinople:—**January 2, 1841.*

The Episcopal Church of the United States of America, deriving its Episcopal power in regular succession from the Holy Apostles, through the venerable Church of England, has long contemplated, with great spiritual sorrow, the divided and distracted condition of the Catholic Church of Christ throughout the world. This sad condition of things not only aids the cause of infidelity and irreligion, by furnishing evil-minded men with plausible arguments; not only encourages heresies and schisms in national branches of the Catholic Church, but is also a very serious impediment to the diffusion of Gospel truth among those who are still in the darkness of heathenism, or are subject to other false religions, or continue to look vainly for the coming of that Messiah Whose advent has already blessed the world.

The arrogant assumptions of universal supremacy and infallibility of the Papal head of the Latin Church, render the prospect of speedy friendly intercourse with him dark and discouraging. The Church in the United States of America, therefore, looking to the Triune God for His blessings upon its efforts for unity in the Body of Christ, turns with hope to the Patriarch of Constantinople, the spiritual head of the ancient and venerable Oriental Church.

In this Church we have long felt a sincere interest. We

have sympathised with her in the trials and persecutions to which she has been subjected; we have prayed for her deliverance from all evils and mischiefs; and we have thanked her Divine Head that He has been pleased, amid all her sufferings, to maintain her allegiance to Him.

In order to attempt the commencement of a friendly and Christian intercourse with the Oriental Church, the Church in the United States resolved to send two of its presbyters, the Rev. J. J. Robertson, and the Rev. Horatio Southgate, to reside at Constantinople. These clergymen are directed to make inquiries regarding the existing state of the Church under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople, and of the other Eastern Churches; to ascertain the relations they bear to each other, and the views they maintain in regard to the Apostolic Churches of Europe and America; to answer such inquiries as may be made of them in regard to the origin, constitution, and condition of the Church in the United States; and to do all in their power to conciliate the Christian love and regard of the Oriental Church towards its younger sister in the Western world.

After some preliminary inquiries and study of the language, they will present themselves, with this epistle of introduction (by which they are cordially recommended to the Christian courtesies and kind offices of the bishops and clergy of the Oriental Church), to the Patriarch of Constantinople, inviting him to a friendly correspondence with the heads of the Church in the United States, explaining more fully the views and objects of their Church, and inquiring whether a mutual recognition of each other can be effected, as members of the Catholic Church of Christ, on the basis of the Holy Scriptures and the first Councils, including the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds, in order to a future efficient co-operation against Paganism, false religion, and Judaism.

They will make it clearly understood that their Church has no ecclesiastical connection with the followers of Luther and Calvin, and takes no part in their plans or operations to diffuse the principles of their sects. They will propose to the Patriarch such aid as the Church in the United States can supply, in the advancement of Christian education, and in the promulgation of religious truth, always avoiding the points in which the two Churches still differ, and leaving the producing of a closer mutual conformity to the blessing of God, on the friendly correspondence of the respective heads of the Churches, or to a future General Council.

Leaving a further development of these points to the oral communications of its delegates, and again recommending them to the Christian candour and affection of the Patriarch and clergy of the Oriental Church, and repeating the hearty desire and prayer of the bishops and clergy of the United States for their prosperity, we remain your brethren in Christ—

ALEXANDER VIETS GRISWOLD, of the Eastern Diocese
and Senior of the American Church.

BENJAMIN TREDWELL ONDERDONK, of New York.

GEORGE WASHINGTON DOANE, of New Jersey.

THOMAS CHURCH BROWNELL, of Connecticut.

JACKSON KEMPER, of Missouri, &c.

WILLIAM ROLLINSON WHITTINGHAM, of Maryland.

HENRY USTICK ONDERDONK, of Pennsylvania.

The above document would, doubtless, have been signed by all the Bishops, but there was only time enough to see those whose names are appended.

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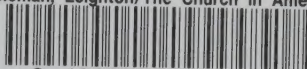
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